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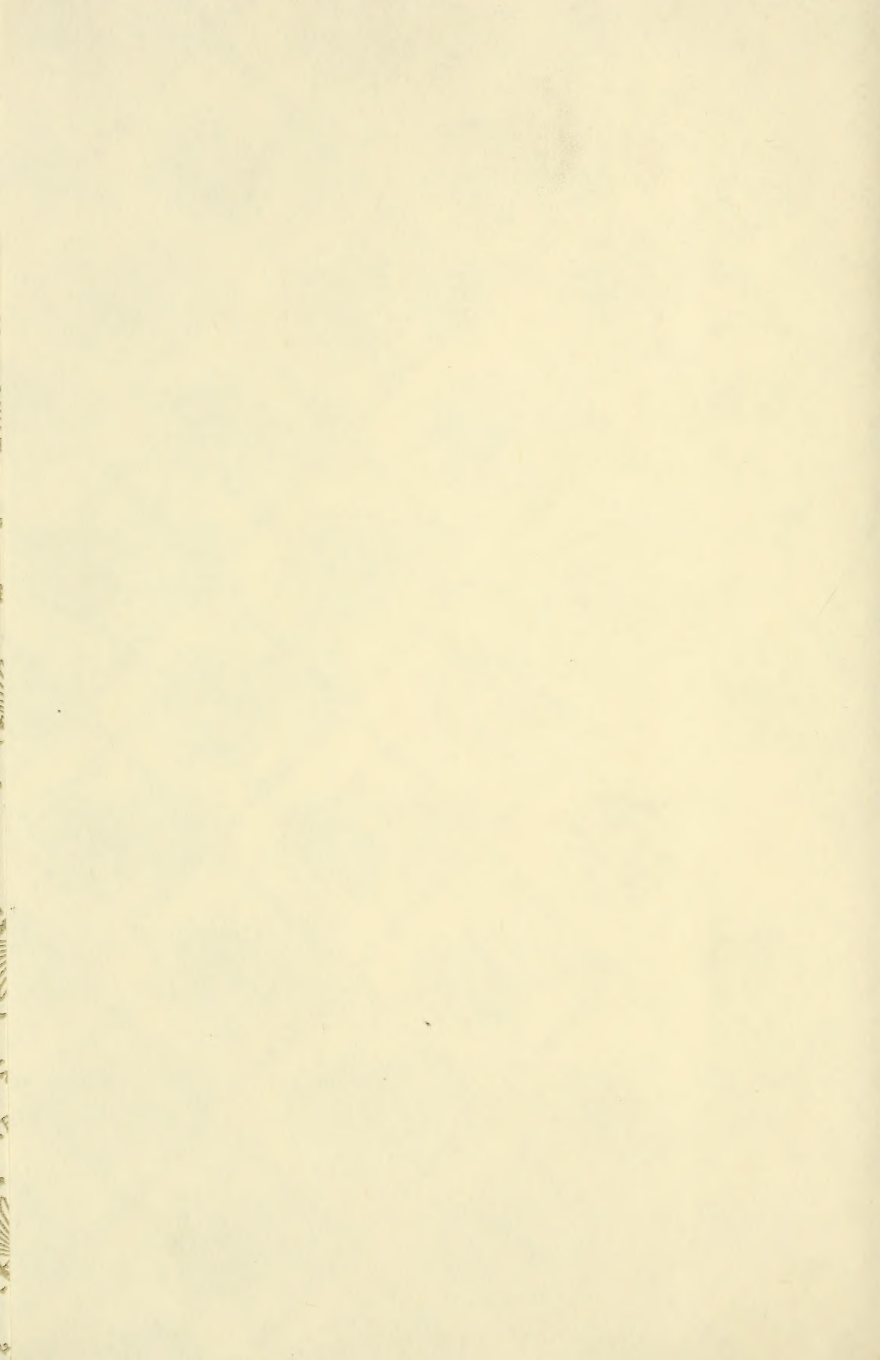








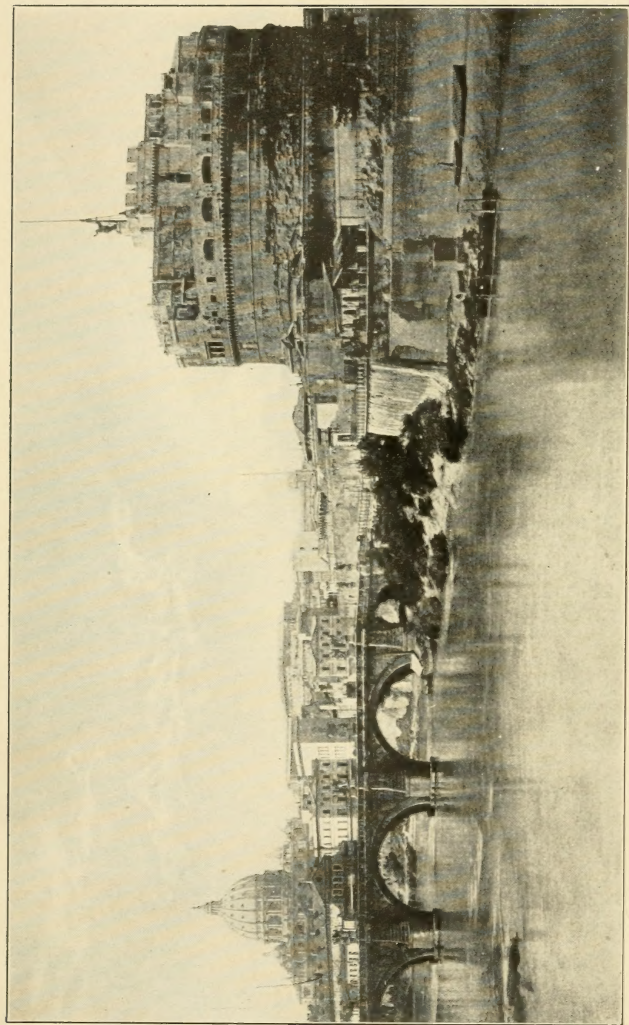












### ROME, THE ETERNAL CITY

St. Peter's in the distance at the left; the Castle of St. Angelo in the foreground at the right. Built by the Romans as the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian, St. Angelo became the castle of the Popes in the Middle Ages. Here they often took refuge when their enemies controlled Rome.



# A HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN EUROPE

*For Secondary Schools*

BY

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## PREFACE

THE main purpose of this book is to tell the story of the building of Europe, in a way useful for students in the secondary schools, or, in other words, to answer the question how the European nations, especially the prime units in civilization, — England, France, Germany, and Italy, — came to be what they are to-day. There has been an earnest effort not to take too much for granted in the way of previous information, not to overload the student with facts and names of which so little can be told that they cannot “body-out” in his imagination, and not to cover any but the essential features of the main subjects.

While our story must for completeness go back to the fall of the Roman Empire, common sense dictates that for most students the mediæval era is of relatively less importance than the last four centuries. The amount of space allotted to given events is, therefore, increasingly ample as recent times are approached: thus, there is a much longer discussion of Napoleon than of Charlemagne. On the other hand, it has seemed needful to keep the treatment of even the modern period within fair limits, especially by adhering closely to the study of Europe only. Thus there is merely an allusion to many of the events which created the British Empire, and the student will have to go elsewhere to learn how France acquired a great dominion in North Africa, and how Russia was checked by Japan in the Far East. This is a misfortune, for such a process as the opening of China *may* prove to be a matter of more importance in universal history than the whole Thirty Years' War, but the limitations on the time of most students and the need of adhering to the main thread of what is at best a very long narrative, seem to forbid the treatment of many fascinating as well as valuable problems.



In including or excluding an event, a name, or an institution, in or from this history, the tests have been usually these, — (1) *Is this matter really important historically?* (2) If so, can it be stated clearly, and so as to appeal to the imagination and understanding of an immature student in a relatively short number of words? For example, the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons have high significance for advanced scholars in English history, but such details cannot be made to have any real meaning for young students unless explained at very considerable length; and rather than have a mass of dry and probably meaningless statements cast into the learner's teeth, the whole subject has been almost ignored. On the other hand, the French wars of Edward III have been traced with clear details, because a very few statements about Crécy and Poitiers will make those names assume a real meaning in the mind of any red-blooded student, and make the Hundred Years' War seem a vital period of history. For this reason, too, more has sometimes been said about *men* than about institutions. "Parliament" is an abstraction that probably means little to many high-school students: John Pym, fighting the battle for human liberty in the name of the vindication of Parliament, can become a very genuine figure, indeed.

In this process of inclusion and exclusion the author has been obliged in every sentence to exercise his own personal judgment. Literally thousands of more or less important facts and names have been omitted. The excuse has to be that the length of a textbook of this kind is strictly limited by the many demands of the modern curriculum upon a student's time and energy, and that this history, therefore, if it is not to fall into the capital error of being a dry-as-dust compendium, must resign any pretension of putting a full quart into a pint pot.

If in the end of the study the reader has gained some consciousness of the "increasing purpose," which has led the nations onward, from Roman degeneracy and Germanic dark-



ness, through the long twilight into the present brightness of promise; if he has come to recognize how the brotherhood of civilized men owes its enlightenment and hope not to the deeds of one age or nation only, but to a long, painful, often agonizing process of building, stretching across the centuries; if, in short, he has learned that "history is the continuous record of human achievement," and that the man of to-day is infinitely the debtor to the man of yesterday, — this little history will have fulfilled its modest purpose.

In preparing this textbook the collaborating author, Mr. McKendrick, has revised the entire manuscript with helpful scrutiny, suggesting many improvements of every kind. He has also been the originating author of all the questions, analyses, bibliographies, maps, tables, etc., which will probably be considered among the most important features of the work. Indeed, the preparation of the volume as a working textbook would have been quite impossible without his always friendly and faithful coöperation.

Professor J. S. Shotwell, of Columbia University, has given the entire volume the benefit of a searching criticism from the standpoint of up-to-date, advanced scholarship, and has added many practical suggestions of very pronounced value. Mr. M. T. Sadler, formerly of Oxford University, has performed a like kindly and extremely helpful service. Last, but not least, mention must be made of the publishers of this book. It was at their suggestion that the work was originally undertaken, and through the long process of its development they have never failed with patient supervision, with fertile and stimulating suggestion, and with a painstaking attention to all the excellent mechanical details which it is believed this book will be found to possess.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,  
MINNEAPOLIS, May, 1914.







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## SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

THESE suggestions, and the "helps" provided in the body of the book, are for the many teachers of history in our secondary schools who are endeavoring to do justice to the subject without having had special preparation for teaching it. It is realized that experienced teachers of history will probably make use of the book in their own ways, with little regard to the aids with which the book is equipped.

Under the heading "Review," a set of questions is provided at the end of each chapter which will thoroughly test the pupil's knowledge of the material presented in the chapter, and which will call constantly upon him to examine causes and results and their relations, as well as require him to make frequent comparisons in all possible ways. Question number one in each instance gives opportunity for a rapid drill upon the significant names and phrases found in the chapter.

The second question emphasizes the importance of map-work in the study of European history. *All* the map-work called for should be done. The maps in the book have been made *especially to illustrate the text*. With a very few unimportant exceptions, all the places and regions mentioned in the text are located on the accompanying maps, and the important territorial changes are shown with sufficient fullness. Except in a few instances, the maps show *only* the places referred to in the text; thus the useless "padding" of maps, so often found in textbooks, is avoided. The maps, however, cannot supplant an atlas: the pupils should have access to a good one. It is probable that greater benefit will be derived by using various kinds of outline maps than by confining the use to those made by one publishing-house only.

Under the heading "Exercises," a set of questions is further provided which is based upon the material found in the list of "Readings." Where time permits, the use of these questions will be found to be of great value, for every pupil should extend his study of history beyond the covers of a single book. It is not expected that each pupil will attempt to find answers for *all* the questions. In making the list of books to be used in connection with the "Exercises," regard was had to the need of keeping the cost within reach of all schools. The books can be obtained at a considerable reduction below the list price, possibly for a sum of twelve or fifteen dollars, if some of the books marked with a star are omitted. Many teachers will wish to substitute for the list in the Appendix (pp. ii-iv), other books which seem to them more desirable. The only claim made for the list of books chosen is that it makes a very usable and well-



rounded working library, the cost of which is moderate enough for any school to meet.

Most students of history will agree, probably, that the habit of "browsing," i.e., reading casually, is an excellent one to cultivate. To help in the development of this habit and to give practice in the use of the table of contents and index, the questions in the "Exercises" are left without *direct* references to the particular page or pages upon which the answers may be found. In the search for the answers, the attention of the pupils must often be arrested by incidents aside from the particular matter in hand.

In the study of European history, one of the most difficult things to impress upon the minds of the pupils is the fact that the events described in one chapter did not *necessarily* happen before the events described in the following, or some subsequent, chapter, just because the first chapter precedes the others in the text. The following chart has been found, by actual experience, a very efficient means of overcoming this difficulty. It is recommended that only the events which are described in the text, or referred to in the "Exercises," be used in making the chart.

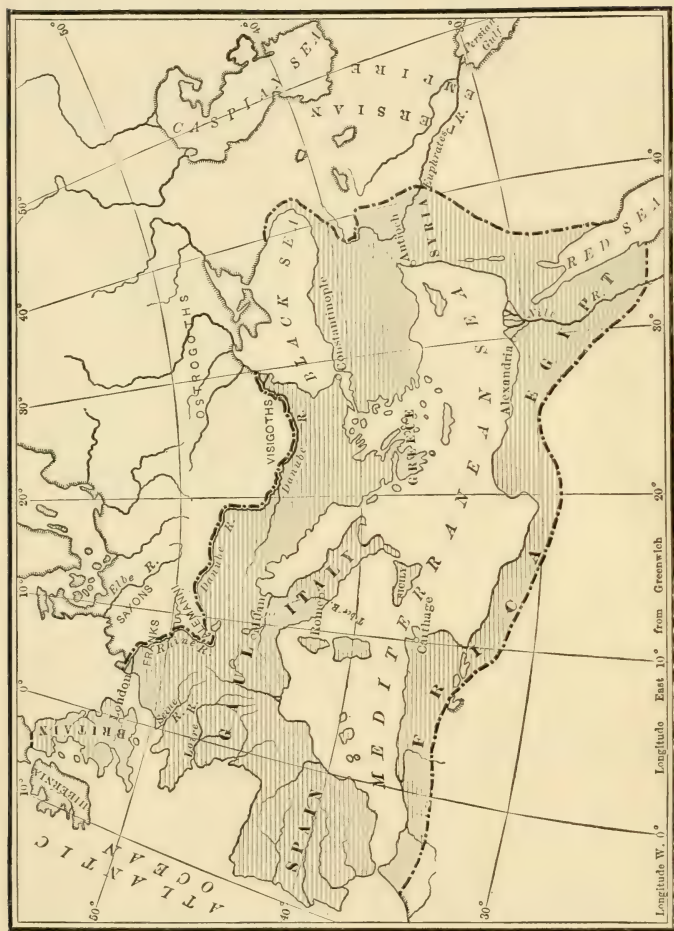
In the "List of Important Dates" (Appendix, p. i), brief statements are made concerning the *significance* of each event. The pupils should be asked to explain the statements, to enlarge upon them, to find illustrations of them, and to make similar lists of other important dates. A bare list of dates, without some such use made of it, has little value.

### PLAN FOR A CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

England	France	Holy Roman Empire		The Papacy	Spain	Russia, Scandinavian and Balkan States
		Germany	Italy			
		Names of Emperors be written across	of Emperors should be written in this line.			

*Suggestions:* — The Chart may be made by the pupils during the year; or, as an aid to review at the end of the year. In each column should be entered the names and dates of the rulers, and the names and dates of the important events in each reign. Contemporary rulers and events should occupy, as far as possible, the same horizontal lines. Some events, e.g., the battle of Bouvines, should appear in several columns, since they concern several nations. Individual columns for Russia and the Scandinavian and Balkan States, etc., may be made at the discretion of the teacher. The Chart may be made upon one or two large sheets of paper, or may be divided into a number of sheets, taking the events period by period, or century by century.





THE BOUNDARIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY



# A HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN EUROPE

## CHAPTER I

### THE DYING EMPIRE AND THE FOREST PEOPLES

1. *The greatness of the Roman Empire.* In the fourth century of the Christian era the **Roman Empire embraced almost every land then civilized.** All the country now bordering upon the Mediterranean was subject to it, and also Britain (modern England). The intelligence and wisdom not merely of ancient Italy, the home land of the conquering Romans, but of old Greece and older Egypt and Syria had been absorbed by the men of the Empire. A traveler from the Euphrates River to Londinium (London) would not as to-day have had to pass through half a score of different countries with varying languages, laws, customs, religions, often sorely hostile one to another; he would have been moving continuously within a single vast empire, all under one firm government, with the same law, the same general manner of religion, the same general social conventionalities. The same money passed current everywhere. If he had had to transact any official business he could always have dispatched it in Latin, though in the Eastern Provinces the more usual language was Greek; and in various rural districts the old local dialects were still in use. The only books he would have read would have been either in Latin or in Greek. He would have found a vast commerce passing over a magnificent road system. On the great frontier rivers, the Euphrates (where the Empire fronted the Kingdom of Persia), the Danube, and the Rhine (whence the Romans looked



out against the German tribes), he would have discovered highly disciplined armies ready to cast themselves upon any invader.

At short intervals in his travel he would have entered stately cities with magnificent palaces, theaters, forums (public squares), triumphal arches, and especially amphitheaters where the multitude sought the gladiatorial games wherein they so delighted. Everywhere there was a profusion of splendid sculptures, statues, bas-reliefs, and paintings. Life in these cities was highly cultured: there were numerous literary men, and scholars were held in high esteem. Some of these cities were of notable size: besides Rome,<sup>1</sup> which was undoubtedly an exceedingly large city even from a modern standpoint, there were Carthage in North Africa, Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and especially the new capital, Constantinople (founded in 330 A.D. by the Emperor Constantine as a counterpoise to old Rome), which rivaled the "Queen of the Tiber," in magnitude and splendor. In the open country were great landed estates, where the fortunate owners lived in their villas amid refined ease and luxury.

By about 375 A.D. **the religion of this huge empire was nominally Christian.** The days of the martyrs were over: Constantine (died 337), the first Christian Emperor, had begun the official discouragement of paganism, and since his day — despite some reactions — the old heathen religion had steadily declined. In a few generations more it was to be almost dead, and "Rome" and "Christianity" were to become practically synonyms.

**2. *Why the Empire was declining.*** And yet this stately, almost universal empire was declining, and was doomed to a slow, lingering, but certain death. Among the causes of this

<sup>1</sup> The safest guess as to the population of Imperial Rome seems to put it at over 1,000,000; possibly up to 1,500,000. The student must remember that until decidedly modern times reliable census figures are lacking.



“Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,” — which constitutes some of the most significant chapters of history, — are these: —

(a) **The government of the Empire was that of a despotism.** Once the Roman Emperors had tried to veil their power under a decent show of maintaining some kinds of popular liberties, but now the Cæsars were for all substantial purposes as absolute autocrats as if they had called themselves “Shahs” or “Sultans.”<sup>1</sup> The sole thing they really dreaded was the mutiny of the army. The Empire was suffering from the numbing effects of an absolute monarchy, one of the most destructive things possible to private ambition and effort.

(b) Along with this despotism went **a grasping and grinding system of taxation.** To pay for the expensive court and the increasing demands of the army it was necessary to tax the subjects of the Roman Empire as few people have been taxed. This taxation swept off all the surplus wealth, and left the multitude hopeless, discontented, and often starved.

(c) **The army was ceasing to protect the frontiers properly.** The long years of peace had given the men of the Empire a distaste for the military life. Most of the soldiers were recruits from the German tribes. These troops were brave but unreliable. By their mutinies they raised and destroyed emperors. The bonds of discipline were becoming relaxed. Very soon this demoralized army would cease to be able to hold back the invaders.

(d) As a canker at the heart of the Empire was **the evil of slavery.** A great proportion of the people were still slaves, although the spirit of Christianity was opposed to the slave system. Slavery was brutal to its victims: but its effect on the masters was still worse. It taught them to be pitiless and

<sup>1</sup> At this period the Empire had been divided, usually, into a western and an eastern portion, each with its own emperor. But the Empire was always in theory one, and the two sovereigns were expected to work in harmony.



tyrannical and to despise all forms of toilsome labor as fit only for bondsmen. No great country ever contained such a proportion of dishonest idlers as the later Roman Empire. For this evil, slavery was largely responsible. The men of the fourth century had hardly an idea of the dignity of labor.

(e) Along with slavery, as its disastrous counterpart, went **the great disproportion in the distribution of wealth.** Most of the landed property was in the hands of a relatively small number of immensely wealthy magnates of the " Senatorial Class." The masses were either the actual slaves toiling on the magnate's estates, or *coloni*, — a kind of serfs, with some nominal rights, but whose actual condition was not a great deal better than that of the slaves. When the Empire stood in sore peril, these down-trodden millions would not feel a great deal of interest in preserving a system in which their rights were so little considered. In their last fights for existence the Cæsars could not appeal to the patriotism of their people as can a modern government in a great crisis.

(f) Besides these evils, we meet the fact that **the old Græco-Roman civilization had almost spent itself.** Its philosophers and poets had spoken their last word. Its sculptors could not surpass their former creations. Literature had ceased to be creative. Art was becoming florid and over-elaborate. There was still much refinement and learning in the old world, but also much artificiality and absolutely no originality.

(g) **The spirit of Christianity had come too late** to save a civilization already condemned. There were many noble individual Christians, but too many men accepted the new religion with their lips, while they continued pagan and selfish in their hearts. To teach the nations the true Gospel of Love was to be the work of long ages.

3. *The German tribes beyond the Rhine and the Danube.* Beyond the northern frontiers of this great but decadent empire lay a swarm of barbarous peoples commonly called by



the general name of the Germans. The Franks, Alemanni, and Saxons were some of the tribes nearest the Rhine, while north of the Danube lay particularly the powerful Gothic nations, divided into the Ostrogoths (East Goths) and the Visigoths (West Goths).

These Germans were decidedly inferior to the men of the Empire in most of the essentials of civilization, but they were far from being absolute savages. In the vast forests, the swamp lands, or the plains of their northern homes they were slowly

developing something like settled agricultural life, although hunting and grazing still furnished their chief means of subsistence. They were a tall, blond, blue-eyed race,

—“Northern Giants” the weaker races of the Empire anxiously



ROMANS DESTROYING A VILLAGE OF THE  
GERMANS

(*Relief from the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome.*) Observe the circular huts constructed of wickerwork, without windows and having but a single narrow door

called them; and in battle only the superior discipline of the Roman armies had flung back the rushes of their sword phalanxes and of their terrible battle-axes. War, both with the Romans and with their fellow Germans of neighboring tribes, was the only real pursuit enjoyed by “men of spirit.” The hunting of bears and wild boars would suffice to employ a northern chief during the intervals of “inglorious peace.” Most of the real toil of life, outside of fighting or the chase, fell on the women. The villages of low wattled huts were separated by wide intervals of forest land. There were no roads through the woodland; only forest trails. Life in a German hamlet



doubtless seemed brutal and sordid enough to any unlucky Roman who came as an explorer or a prisoner.

Nevertheless among these rude peoples were distinct evidences of better things. Manly purity and female honor were better observed than in the gay but sinful cities of the Empire. There were slaves: but they were neither very numerous, nor treated (according to German standards) with great severity. At a carousal in his village the German warrior would drink himself immoderately drunk, but on the campaign he might exhibit all the sober virtues. Germans as a rule kept their oaths: and they were remarkably faithful to any chief they had sworn

to follow. Indeed, the loyalty a *comitatus* (band of picked fighting men) had for its war chief was probably far greater than the loyalty its members bore toward the common tribe. For a band to come back from the battle where its chief had fallen unavenged, was a disgrace almost impossible to wipe away. The whole company would sooner perish.



A GERMAN WAR  
CHIEF

(Restored. From the  
*Musée d'Artillerie* at  
Paris)

The political organization of the Germans was loose and primitive. In times of peace each little village community governed itself, or rather, the elders among the nobles managed its simple affairs. In times of threatened war, there would be assemblies of deputies from the villages, perhaps in some forest glade under a "sacred oak," to consider the weal of the common folk and to plan the campaign. Some tribes had no permanent "king," and only elected a special leader for each war: but usually each tribe had its own

"king," who, however, exercised little power save while on the warpath, when he would be obeyed with reasonable diligence.



There seems to be evidence that by the fourth century the Germans were becoming more civilized. They were learning the arts of peace from the Romans and developing internally. Their governments were becoming firmer: their kings had greater authority. Missionaries (especially the famous Goth, *Ulfilas*) had recently converted most of them to a manner of Christianity,<sup>1</sup> although probably the crude worship of the old nature deities (e.g., Donar, the Storm and Thunder God) still lingered on in many villages, and in some entire tribes. They were becoming more content with the lands which they possessed, and a little less intent upon roving. Yet re-



DWELLING-HOUSE IN A TOWN OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

(Restored. After Garnier and Ammann, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*.) Note that the building is largely composed of fragments of earlier monuments and structures

peatedly their bands had collided with the Romans. In the third century many German hordes had penetrated into the Empire, and had been destroyed with the greatest difficulty. In the fourth century the legions seemed to be preventing any actual armed invasion; but tens of thousands of Germans themselves were enlisted in the legions, while many more were entering the Empire as peaceful settlers. The Germans cheerfully recognized the Romans as superior to themselves in everything but war, and the glitter and splendor of Rome fascinated and lured them southward. Late in the fourth century came events

<sup>1</sup> To *Arianism*, a kind of Unitarianism, which involved the acceptance of Jesus Christ as a "God-Man," but denied his actual divinity.



which broke the barriers on the Danube and the Rhine, and let them into the Empire.

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### GENERAL NOTE ON ORDEALS

The Germans had one custom which was not merely a curious usage of barbarous peoples, but which they took with them into the Roman Empire and worked into the legal practices of the early Middle Ages in many parts of Europe. This was the method of settling many lawsuits not by a verdict after hearing the evidence, but by an **ordeal**, a solemn question put to Heaven, which was supposed to answer — according to the result of the ordeal — as to the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Ordeals might take two general forms: among a certain class of German warriors, and between mediæval noblemen who imitated their example, the favorite method was the **wager by battle**. In this the two litigants, after due precautions to secure fair play, literally “fought it out” with proper weapons, until one of them was slain, or — if spared — the defeated man “confessed himself recreant,” that is, owned his guilt or retracted his charges.

The second form was more directly a query addressed to God. In the “Ordeal by Boiling Water” the accused was obliged to take a stone out of a deep boiling hot caldron. The condition of the accused’s hand after the trial determined his fate. Or there might be a “Fire Ordeal” — e.g., the accused might be obliged to walk nine feet blindfolded over red-hot ploughshares. If he were badly burned, clearly he was guilty. Would not Heaven protect the innocent? There were a good many other possible tests. One much in vogue after the Germans became Christians was the “Ordeal of the Morsel,” — when, after a priest had solemnly consecrated the bread in the sacrament, the accused partook of the holy element, calling on God to strike him dead if he swore falsely to his innocence.

Owing to the simple faith and the belligerent spirit of the early Middle Ages it was long before these usages were replaced by more rational forms of trial. In fact some dead traces thereof lingered in the law-books down to modern times. A person accused of murder in England demanded trial by wager of battle as late as 1818, but the court promptly disallowed his demand, and the formal right was soon legally abolished.



## REVIEW

1. Explain briefly, or state concisely the important facts connected with the following names or topics — Coloni — Comitatus — Ulfilas — Arianism — Constantine — Ordeals.
2. Compare the map facing page 1 with the front linings, and locate on a blank map of Europe the modern nations within the boundaries of the Roman Empire.
3. In what ways was the Roman Empire "great"?
4. Make a list of the causes of the decline of the Empire.
5. Compare the Germans with the Romans as to their respective elements of strength and weakness.

## EXERCISES

1. For what were Carthage, Alexandria, and Antioch noted?
2. Do any of the conditions marking the decline of the Empire exist in the United States at present? For what conditions are there no parallels here?

## READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: Chapter 1. Robinson: vol. 1, no. 8.

*Modern Accounts.* Emerton: Introduction: pp. 1-26. Seignobos: pp. 3-11, 16-18. Bémont and Monod: pp. 1-36.

<sup>1</sup> For this and all the subsequent chapters the questions marked "Review" are based upon the text of the book, and are intended to bring out from various angles the facts and inferences which ought to be gathered from a careful study of each chapter. In the geographical questions, to be studied always with due use of the maps, important localities which are mentioned for the first time are given. It is assumed that places which have been prominent in earlier chapters are already familiar.

The questions marked "Exercises" are of the "seek-further" variety. They cannot be answered properly from the text, and must be studied by reference to some or all of the books mentioned under "Readings." A large part of the value of the work should come from the frequent use of these "Exercises," teaching the student to pass beyond the bare statements of the text, to clothe the facts of history with enough detail to give them real life, and to train the student in that use of judgment and inference from conflicting evidence which is one of the most valuable gains from historical study. — See "Suggestions to Teachers" (pp. xiv-xv) for more complete directions.



## CHAPTER II

### THE GERMANS IN THE OLD EMPIRE

4. *The Huns drive the Germans southward.* Far away in the heart of Asia lay barbarous tribes of warrior nomads, commonly called the **Huns**.<sup>1</sup> They were as far below the Germans in civilization as the latter were below the Romans: this, however, did not prevent them from being almost invincible in battle. About 350 A.D. their hordes were rolling westward seeking new fields of conquest. Meeting the Germanic Goths in what is to-day southern Russia, they enslaved the Ostro-



GERMANIC SWORD (*in sheath*)

goths, and drove the whole people of the Visigoths before them in a panic toward the Danube, where lay the Roman barrier forts and the protecting legions (375). At the bank of the great river the Visigoths begged **Valens**, the Emperor of the Eastern Provinces, to admit them to his dominions, promising faithful service against his enemies, and especially against the Huns who were pressing at their heels. In an evil hour Valens consented. The whole Visigothic folk — men, women, and children — were ferried across, avowedly to settle quietly in the Roman provinces. But almost immediately disputes arose with the imperial officials: and alleging unjust treatment the Visigoths soon took up arms against those who had harbored

<sup>1</sup> The best short formula wherewith to describe the Huns is to rename them "Tartars." They were certainly very like the least civilized of the bands that still traverse the steppes of Mongolia and Turkestan, although our information about many of their traits is scanty.



them. Valens called out a large part of the whole imperial army. At **Adrianople** (378) he staked everything on a great battle. He lost his army and his life. The victors wandered ravaging through the Balkan peninsula. The spell of Roman invincibility was broken. Valens's successor in the East, **Theodosius**, made a new treaty, indeed, with the Goths and induced them to remain peaceably for some years near the Danube. They actually aided him to conquer the western provinces, and he became Emperor of the whole Roman world: but in 395 he died. To one feeble son, Arcadius, he gave the East; to another, Honorius, the West. **The Empire was divided, never to be united again.** The ministers of these purple-clad youths were for the most part inefficient and corrupt.<sup>1</sup> The opportunity of the Germans was come.

5. *The sack of Rome by the Visigoths.* In 400, **Alaric**, King of the Visigoths, with his valorous people, set forth from Illyricum<sup>2</sup> to invade Italy. Their first attempt ended, however, at the great battle of Pollentia (402), when for about the last time the old legions won a notable victory. Alaric returned to Illyricum and slowly recruited his swordsmen.

In 408, he again invaded Italy. No effective army now barred his path. With a kind of awe and trembling, but with bold daring and resolve in their hearts, the Visigoths pressed on. The tale runs that Alaric believed a divine voice was saying to him, "Thou shalt reach the City!" and he knew that "the City" was august Rome, "Mother of Empire," which no victorious foe had approached for many centuries. He blockaded the great capital, and presently hunger pinched the vast multitude within the gates. "Give me all your gold, all your silver, all your movable property, and all your barbarian

<sup>1</sup> Stilicho, the prime minister of Honorius, was a brave and capable warrior, and until he was murdered (408) the Goths made no great headway. It is worth noticing, however, that Stilicho was descended from a chief of the Vandals, one of the German tribes.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia.



slaves — then I will raise the siege,” — so he told a deputation of trembling senators. “What, then, will you leave us?” “Your lives,” was the grim answer. However, the invaders presently agreed upon a more reasonable ransom. But two years later, Alaric returned (410), and this time Rome did not escape. Terror spread through the world as men told one another with bated breath how the “Eternal City” had been sacked by the Gothic barbarians, even as Roman armies, in days now past, had sacked a score of capitals. If Rome could be violated, what hope for any lesser city? The very end to civilized life seemed come!

The Visigoths did not long remain in Italy. Alaric himself soon succumbed to the hot, unfamiliar southern climate. Even in her weakness the majesty of Rome and the superiority of her civilization impressed itself upon the invaders. Said Athaulf, Alaric’s successor, “My first wish was to destroy the Roman Empire, [but now] I choose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the preserver of that Roman power which it is beyond my power to replace.”

The Visigoths presently made a kind of treaty with the feeble Western Emperor by which they were permitted to occupy Spain and Southern Gaul: and here they established a permanent dominion, their king lording it over his own folk and also over the Romanized provincials, who as a rule found their new Gothic lords more just and less exacting than the former imperial officials. This Gothic kingdom in Spain lasted till 711.

6. *The Germanic kingdoms within the falling Empire.* Alaric had shown the way for many another Germanic war chief to enter the Empire. To make the last stand in Italy against the Visigoths, the Roman Government had been obliged to recall the legions guarding the Rhine and the distant province of Britain. Over the undefended frontiers soon

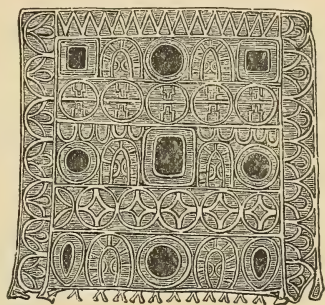


poured one barbarian tribe after another — all seeking the lands and booty which the helpless provinces seemed so able to supply. The fifth century witnessed the utter rending of the Western Roman Empire. Centuries of peace had made the provincials forget the use of arms and trust for all protection to the professional army, and now this army was practically no more. Sometimes the barbarians came in a comparatively inoffensive manner; respected the Romans' private rights and superior culture; contented themselves with merely a fair share of the products of the soil and reasonable

taxes. Sometimes the reverse was the case; the invasions meant blood, sack, slavery — the ruin, in short, of all the arts of peace, of all civilized life. At best the fifth century was a time when men of intelligent instincts must have believed the real progress of the world turned backward, all the accumulated refinements and learning of the past centuries almost hopelessly lost.

To trace the progress of these invasions in a few words is difficult, indeed. One can only name and locate the principal Germanic kingdoms which spring into view after the period of wandering and warfare is somewhat over. Besides the **Visigoths in Spain** and **South Gaul**, the **Vandals**<sup>1</sup> (a very untamed and oppressive folk) seized **northern Africa** and spread their piratical naval power over the Mediterranean. In east central Gaul settled the **Burgundians**, in North Gaul the **Franks** (of whom more hereafter).

For a little while the old Roman Government held on in



DECORATIVE METAL-WORK  
(In the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

<sup>1</sup> From them, of course, comes the term "vandalism."



Italy and in part of Gaul. It had still strength enough to join forces with the Visigoths, and when **Attila**, the terrible leader of the Hunnish hordes, led his destroying horsemen into Gaul, Roman and German united against him and defeated him in the famous battle of Châlons (451),<sup>1</sup> saving western Europe from a second devastation infinitely more terrible than the first.

This was the last gleam of success, however. In 476, **Odoacer** (a German of the Herul tribe), commander of the Imperial Guard, deposed Romulus Augustulus, the last of the weak-



GERMANIC HUNTING-HORN

ling Western Emperors. A barbarian himself, he dared not take the imperial title. By a transparent fiction he called himself "Patrician of Italy," and pretended to rule

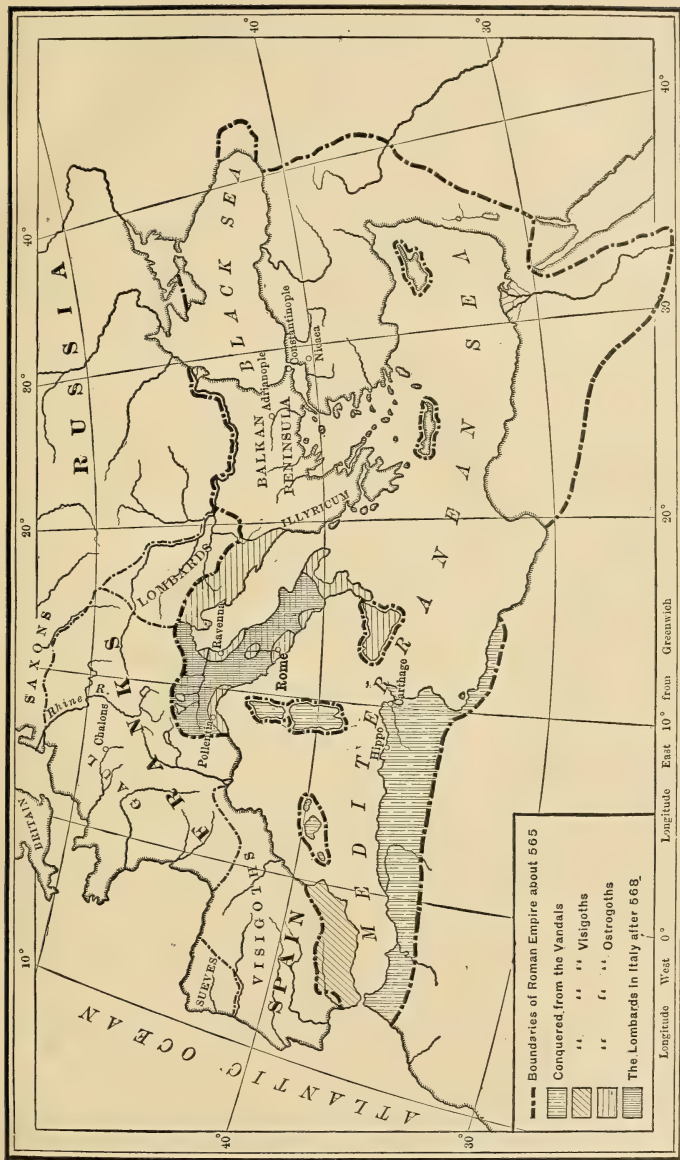
the land as deputy for the Emperor at Constantinople. None the less the Roman Empire of the West was ended.

**7. Theodoric the Ostrogoth and the later Germanic kingdoms.** Odoacer did not rule long. Another branch of the Goths came on the scene: the Ostrogoths, under a remarkable king — Theodoric.<sup>2</sup> Armed with a kind of commission from the Eastern Emperor, Theodoric led his people into Italy, overthrew Odoacer's army, and slew its leader. From 493 to 526, Theodoric reigned in Italy, treating the Roman population with singular tactfulness, respecting their laws, rebuilding the ancient monuments, fostering commerce, literature, and all the

<sup>1</sup> Attila's power was not broken by this battle. Next year he was strong enough to invade Italy, but in 453 he died, and the hordes that had obeyed him soon drifted into civil war, in which the Hunnish nation practically destroyed itself.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoric as a boy had been a hostage at Constantinople, and probably had imbibed there many ideas as to Græco-Roman civilization and law and order. The Ostrogoths had been vassals to the Huns. After the fall of Attila's power, they had invaded the Balkan Peninsula.





EUROPE ABOUT 565 A.D.



fair things of peace. His successors, however, were less happy in dealing with their subjects, and in the sixth century it bechanced that at Constantinople there was reigning over the eastern part of the old realm of Augustus a great Emperor — **Justinian** (527-65).

In the eastern part of the Empire many elements of the original Roman power had survived.<sup>1</sup> Justinian was now able to send out reorganized and formidable armies to recover a part of the lost western provinces. Before this attack the Vandals of northern Africa succumbed; likewise the Ostrogoths of Italy: their very races were almost blotted out in the wars, and their ephemeral kingdoms became again parts of the Roman Empire, ruled now, however, by the Cæsars, not of Rome, but of Constantinople.

This imperial restoration, nevertheless, did not last long in Italy. About 568 the **Lombards**, one of the last of the Germanic peoples to quit their northern homes, invaded Italy. They could not seize the whole of the peninsula, nor capture Rome: part of the country remained long in the possession of the Eastern Emperors; but they established their monarchy in the north with their capital at Pavia, and for over two centuries the unhappy peninsula was rent by devastating wars between rival governments, neither strong enough to expel the other. In this miserable state Italy continued until a new power arose beyond the Alps which gave to the troubled western world the semblance of order. This was the Frankish kingdom.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Valens; Theodosius; Alaric; Stilicho; Attila; Odoacer; Theodoric; Justinian.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate, with dates of important events occurring there, these places — Adrianople; Châlons; Pavia.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter v, section 19.



- (b) Trace on the map the routes of the migrations. (Emerton, p. 34.)
  - (c) Mark the bounds of the Empire under Justinian, indicating his re-conquests.
  - (d) Mark the German tribes in their permanent locations in the Empire.
3. What happened in 378, in 410, and in 476?
  4. Compare Theodoric with Alaric.

## EXERCISES

1. Compare the Huns and the Germans in regard to civilization.
2. Which battle had the greater effect on history, that of Adrianople or that of Châlons?
3. What impression upon the men of that time was made by the sack of Rome (410)?
4. Theodoric and his work. Cassiodorus, his prime minister.
5. The results of the invasions upon the civilization of the Empire.
6. Why was Ravenna noted?

## READING

*Sources.* Ogg: chapters II, III. Robinson, nos. 9-16.

*Modern Accounts.* Emerton: pp. 26-59. Seignobos: pp. 11-15, 46-47.

Bémont and Monod: pp. 36-64.



## CHAPTER III

### THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

**8. *The Christian Church survives the Empire.*** The Western Empire had perished amid blood, confusion, and misery. Many of the barbarian kingdoms that had been erected on its ruins went down almost as rapidly as they were founded. All human virtues save those of the savage warrior seemed in jeopardy had not one great factor in the fallen Roman world survived the shock: — the Christian religion.

Most of the Germans had been converted to a kind of Christianity ere they started on the invasions, and although their "Arian" type of belief was pronounced "heresy" by the orthodox theologians, they were willing as a rule to respect Christian churches, priests, and church properties, although certain Arian kings — e.g., the Vandal rulers in North Africa — proved severe persecutors of their Catholic<sup>1</sup> provincial subjects. In the moil and toil of the invasions the last remnants of the old Græco-Roman heathenism had perished, save in a few very obscure districts. The Romanized provincials,<sup>2</sup> torn from their former government and political institutions, came to rally more loyally than ever around the only one of their old organizations still left — their Church.

**9. *The secular Governments make use of the Church.*** On the other hand, the barbarian conquerors found the Church distinctly useful in their new kingdoms. Although they had

<sup>1</sup> "Catholic" may here be used as defining those Christians who accepted the famous "Nicene Creed" (drawn up at Nicæa in 325), affirming the divinity of Christ, which the Arians rejected.

<sup>2</sup> The Christian Church is said to have taken over a good many matters of outward usage from old paganism. Thus various heathen festivals were duly given an orthodox significance, and then adopted by Christianity.



destroyed much of the old imperial civil organization, they had still to control many millions of provincials, who had customs and a legal system which the untutored Germans by no means understood. Some experienced administrative officers whom the provincials could trust, and whom (by their non-military character) the conquerors could control, were necessary. The **Christian bishops**, already, under the Empire, clothed with many secular functions, were exactly such officers. The Roman proconsul had vanished, but the Christian bishop remained. During the early Middle Ages a **bishop was almost as much a secular as a religious administrator**. He was usually a high magnate able to rank with the greatest nobles among the laity.

As long as the Christian Emperors had ruled, they had repeatedly meddled in Church affairs, appointing and removing bishops, convening "councils" (i.e., assemblies of all the leading ecclesiastics of the world) for the settling of Christian faith or conduct, and even issuing articles of faith which all good subjects of the Empire were expected to believe. In short when the Church had ceased to be persecuted by the Roman Government, that Government had captured it for great political ends. The better class of churchmen had always deprecated this yoking of Church and State. "Better to have the Church poor and persecuted, than so swamped by worldliness," complained many a great "Father" of the early Middle Ages: but no one seemed able to prevent the evil. **The Church was exceedingly wealthy**. Rich men, dying with vexed consciences, knew no better way to square themselves with Heaven than to bequeath great properties to the Church. Pious women would



A BISHOP  
Seventh century  
(S. Venanzio, Rome)



leave their all to the local bishop for hospitals, poor relief, or stately religious edifices. Great provincial lords, Germanic chiefs, Roman Emperors, all had gifts to shower. There was much noble charity, and much perfectly legitimate use for this wealth; but the fact remained that the Church was very rich, and that usually the office of bishop carried with it, not merely honor and influence, but a great income. In such an age it was impossible for these high positions always to fall to men of simple piety and zeal. The Roman Emperors had shown how useful the Church was to the State if properly controlled. The barbarian kings controlled and interfered with the Church even more, although they were often pitiless warriors whose conduct was a parody on their Christian professions. A large part of the history of the Middle Ages was to be the story of how the Church struggled — in the end successfully — against this capture of itself by the secular Government.

**10. *The organization of the Church.*** Already, before the Western Empire fell, the Church had perfected an internal organization which it maintained for many centuries, and which, in its more striking features, the Roman Catholic Church perpetuates to-day. It was held that the whole body of Christian believers was divided into two great classes, namely, the **clergy** entrusted with “the cure of souls,” and the **laity** whose duty in religious matters was to obey passively the directions of their spiritual guides. The clergy itself was organized into a well-established hierarchy. The lowest class of really effective clergy were the **deacons**,<sup>1</sup> and above these the **presbyters** (or “elders”), or, as they were frequently called, the **priests**. These were the ordinary working guides of a parish, the local church district: but over a group of a rather varying number of parishes and with a recognized authority

<sup>1</sup> Before becoming a deacon one had to pass through various “minor orders, subdeacon,” etc.; but these persons had relatively little importance.



over all the lesser clergy, was the **episcopus**, or **bishop**. The term *episcopus* meant in Greek simply "overseer": and many people have held that in the early Church this word and that of *presbyter* might be applied indifferently to any regular working clergyman. But by the fourth century it was well recognized that a bishop far outranked any ordinary parish priest. Ordinarily there was a bishop in every sizable city, with a number of lesser clergy under him, and in his **diocese** (area of jurisdiction) would be included all the outlying towns and villages of the region.<sup>1</sup>

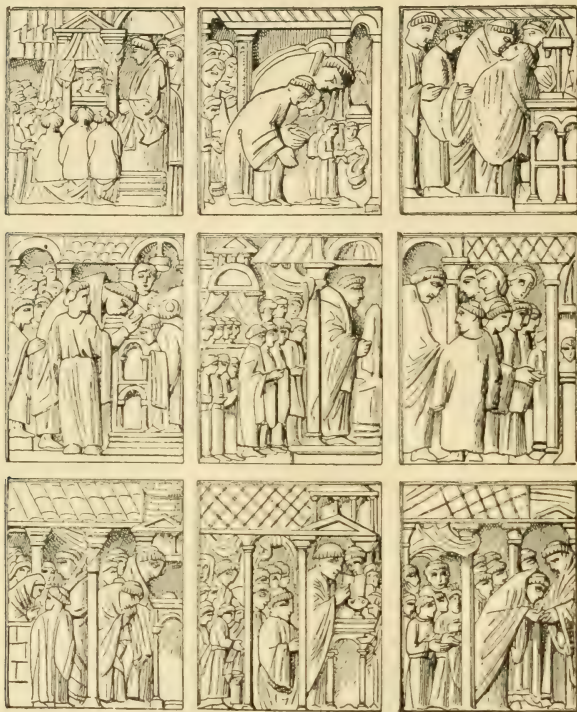
The bishop was the usual working head of the Church: he disciplined his clergy and laity, managed the ample church property, enforced the canons (i.e., fundamental laws of the Church), and could punish violators of his mandates by **excommunication**, — exclusion from all the rites and consolations of religion, — a very serious matter in an age when a man whom the Church had banned was considered not merely a misbeliever, but a kind of semi-criminal. The bishop, too, even more than the ordinary clergyman, was a sacrosanct personage: consecrated with peculiar solemnities and presumed to stand as a special representative of God before men.

He was not, however, the highest officer in the Church. The bishops of the very largest cities claimed a certain superior jurisdiction, as **archbishops**, over their brethren in the smaller communities. Such cities were ordinarily the capital cities of the old Roman provinces. This assumption of power was often resisted, yet the greater influence of the bishops of the leading cities was undoubted. Higher, nevertheless, than the archbishops was the final authority of the **council**. An assembly of all the bishops of all Christendom, meeting commonly at the summons of the Emperor, was presumed to be particularly

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, in the Eastern countries the tendency was for the dioceses to be smaller, and hence the bishops were more numerous and less influential than in the West where their districts were always decidedly large.



inspired in its actions by the Holy Ghost. Such a council at **Nicæa** (325) had drawn up the famous Nicene Creed, the



IVORY LID OF A SACRAMENTARY

Depicting the celebration of mass. The Sacramentary is a book relating to all the points of ritual connected with the Roman Catholic Mass. This particular book dates from the ninth century. (1) Preparation for mass; the celebrant sits on his throne. (2) He repeats the *Confiteor*. (3) He gives the kiss of peace. (4) He kisses the Book, placed upon the altar. (5) He returns to his throne. (6) He returns to the altar. (7) [*left*] He receives the offering; [*right*] he places the bread on the altar. (8) He repeats the prayers of consecration. (9) He communicates.

acceptance or rejection of which was the usual test of orthodox Christianity. The councils naturally met only on special summons at rare intervals. Local synods (meetings of the clergy



of a province) would be convened more frequently, but of course could deal only with local questions.

The Church as a whole, notwithstanding many worldly and evil-minded bishops, and much political meddling, presented an admirable picture of a firm, well-disciplined organization, conscious of a lofty mission, and confident and serene at a time when all the secular side of civilized existence seemed falling away. It seemed to need, however, a center and a leadership around which it might rally in its fight to preserve the spiritual and ideal side of life during the wreck and ruin of the early Middle Ages. It found that leadership at Rome.

**II. *The rise of the Papacy.*** Men to-day differ as to the validity of the right of the Popes of Rome to claim the spiritual allegiance of all Christians, but no one denies that those claims were considered excellent by most Europeans during the Middle Ages. It is easy to state the main reasons why the Bishops of Rome came to be considered something more than ordinary archbishops; to be regarded, in short, as the especial deputies of God set over all Christendom.

(a) They were in Rome, and Rome, even in her decadence, was a large city, with an incalculable prestige. The bishop thereof was bound to be a most important personage.

(b) In the confusion and ruin of the period of barbarian invasion the Christians of the West, especially their bishops, would look to some central authority for advice in matters of discipline and faith, and for moral support in their perils. No other churchman could compare with the Bishop or Pope<sup>1</sup> of Rome in the weight of his opinions through the mere importance of his commanding position.

(c) While not all the Popes were men of great genius, they were usually men of common sense and very decided ability.

<sup>1</sup> The word "pope" is derived from the Greek term *papa* — "father": in this case, of course, the "Holy Father," — later to be singled out above all the rest.



The Roman Church was usually by them kept out of those profitless squabbles about doctrine and dogma which exhausted the energy of the Eastern churches and brought on them the fearful charge of "heresy." The Popes were as a rule accounted highly "orthodox," by all Catholic Christians.

(d) Behind these reasons and reinforcing them was **the great claim which the Popes made for a divine commission**, giving them a peculiar supremacy over all other churches. This claim (which many millions of Christians accept to-day) is centered upon the famous words which Christ spoke to St. Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."<sup>1</sup> The advocates of the Papacy argued, and a large part of Christendom was willing to accept their claim, that this inspired commission to Peter was not for himself only, but for all his successors in the episcopal office: and according to the general belief of the Church, Peter had been the founder of the Christian community at Rome, and all Roman Bishops partook of his especial power. Besides, the great Apostle Paul was regarded as practically another founder of the Roman Church, and the Popes inherited his great spiritual authority also. How far in the early Middle Ages the Popes had more than an advisory authority over the outside churches is a matter over which scholars still argue at the present day: but no one denies that by about 600, the Pope was undoubtedly the leading churchman of the world.

A leading champion of papal authority was the famous **Gregory the Great** (Pope, 590-604). In his day, owing to the attacks of the Lombards and the feebleness of the Eastern Emperors, Rome was practically an independent city-state with the Pope as its temporal head. Gregory makes treaties

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the text (Matt. xvi, 18-19) reads, "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Another text often quoted (John xxi, 15-17) is where Jesus said to Peter, "Feed my sheep."



with the Lombards almost as if he were a secular prince, and conducts defensive warfare. He corresponds with Germanic kings, and with great ecclesiastics all over the world: he sends out missionaries who reclaim the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of Britain to Christianity: he uses his vast influence for the appointment of good bishops, and the maintenance of orthodox doctrine: he is, in short, the mainspring of the Church. The Papacy thus continued in this position of recognized leadership till the alliance it made with the Frankish Kingdom in the eighth century enabled it to go on from strength to strength.

12. *The rise of Monasticism.* One other great factor appears in early mediæval Christianity — **Monasticism**. The world was a very dreary place during the centuries of the falling Empire. It seemed full of sin and confusion, and abundant evidences of God's wrath. How to escape the fires of hell, which were very real to men's imaginations, and how to win the saint's heaven, were questions that millions wrestled with, amid sore trials of spirit. To flee from the world and its iniquities or engrossing pleasures, to try by vigil, prayer, and "mortification of the flesh" to conquer evil thoughts and to win a sure hope of heaven, — this problem had begun to appeal to Christians even before the barbarians first broke into the Empire. Early in the fourth century there were many **monks**<sup>1</sup> in the Egyptian deserts, at first simply isolated hermits living on the small oases, sleeping as little as possible, eating a few dried dates, and spending their whole time in meditation on the mysteries of religion. Such men were regarded as peculiarly holy, as possessing an unusual chance of blessedness hereafter. They had many imitators, and the example spread from Egypt to Syria, and presently to Europe. The life of a mere hermit without any human intercourse was, however, found to have its drawbacks. If he might have visions of angels, visions of devils might attend his solitary vigils also. It was speedily

<sup>1</sup> The word "monk" means in the Greek "one who lives alone."



recognized that the truest peace of mind came to a monk when he was with a number of fellow monks in a **common "monastery,"** living together a well attuned religious life under "monastic rule" or system of religious discipline.<sup>1</sup>

It is exceedingly easy for moderns to ridicule the monastic life and its ideals, to charge it with selfishly seeking the individual's salvation and of leaving the world at large to perish unaided. At the same time, amid the infinite confusion of the early Middle Ages, to any refined or sensitive nature the life of the average layman must often have seemed very repulsive: and even the "secular clergy"<sup>2</sup> were frequently caught in the worldly, unspiritual life about them. Probably by the sixth or seventh century a very large fraction of what we may call the "cultivated minds" of the time was in the monasteries<sup>3</sup> (or nunneries for women) as the only true refuge. The outraged, the oppressed, the timid, who feared the world and its storms, the intellectually minded, all took the "vows of religion" and merged their personalities in the life of the multitudinous monastic communities.

The great organizer of Monasticism in the West was **St. Benedict of Nursia**, a noble Italian, who about 526 drew up his famous **Benedictine Rule**, a system of monastic discipline which many Catholic institutions follow up to the present day. According to his idea, although a monk was to spend many hours in prayer and attending the services of the monastery church, he was neither to torture himself by undue severities, nor starve himself by too spare a diet. However, on entering the monastery he ceased to be his own master: he took a vow of poverty (no property was to be his own, all was to belong to

<sup>1</sup> Hence the term "regular clergy" — those living under a "rule" (Latin — *regula*). Isolated hermits remained very common in the East. Community life was prevalent among the monks of the West.

<sup>2</sup> The priests, bishops, etc., who cared for the ordinary worship of the Church and the faith and morals of the laity.

<sup>3</sup> A "convent" is substantially the same thing as a "monastery," although it is a name now commonly given to nunneries also.



the community), of chastity, and finally of obedience,—obedience implicit and entire to the **abbot**,<sup>1</sup> the elected head of the monkish community.

Benedict enjoined upon the monks the duty of labor. At first this labor was simply the tilling of the monastery farm, though even here the pride in doing a thing “well unto God” would lead the monks to make their agriculture as skillful as possible, no doubt an example to all neighboring farmers; but presently came the cultivation of other arts. A monastery prided itself on the beauty of its church and buildings, as planned and actually erected by the monks themselves unaided. Again, the **copying of manuscripts** and the increasing of the common library came to be regarded as a work especially favored by Heaven; and to the patient monkish copyists we owe a very large part of all the precious Greek and Roman classics handed down from antiquity. Finally, in the monastery might be a **school** for the whole countryside, where at least the youths intended for the clergy could be taught Latin and a few simple sciences, in an age when even a great noble among the laity could seldom read or write. A monastery, then, was not merely part of a religious system: it was a center for the handicrafts, for the arts, and for learning, often in a very backward or half-barbarous community.

Such are some of the leading aspects of the Church of the Middle Ages. To criticize its institutions seems for some mod-



A BENEDICTINE  
(From the *Annales de  
l'Ordre de Saint Benoît*)

<sup>1</sup> The term “abbot” is from Syriac *abba* — “father.” The chief assistant of an abbot was known as the “prior.” An abbey was simply a large monastery ruled by an abbot.



erns exceedingly easy, yet it was really **the one thing that saved civilization** from being blotted out in the barbarian invasions. A Germanic king feared a Christian bishop and his appeal to the saints and to Heaven, when he feared no Roman Emperor; and by the Church the ideals of humanity were upheld in an age which had almost forgotten them.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Council; Priest; Bishop; Archbishop; Parish; Diocese; Canon; Excommunication; Nicene Creed; Synod; Orthodox; Heresy; Regular Clergy; Secular Clergy; Abbot; Benedictine Rule.
2. *Geography* — Locate Rome; Nicæa; Monte Cassino.
3. What were the relations of the rulers to the Church (*a*) before and (*b*) after the German invasion?
4. What were the sources of the wealth of the Church?
5. Summarize the reasons for the rise to leadership of the Bishop of Rome.
6. What were the causes for the rise of monasticism?

### EXERCISES

1. The work of Gregory the Great.
2. The work of St. Benedict, and the Benedictine Rule.
3. The work of the monks as sustainers of civilization.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter VI. Robinson: nos. 5, 6, 7, 18-37.

*Modern accounts.* Emerton: pp. 92-113; 135-49. Seignobos: pp. 18-22.

Bémont and Monod: pp. 15-18; 119-24.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE MOHAMMEDANS AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE

**13. *The Arabians before Mohammed.*** In the seventh century arose the religion which was to prove the dark counter-foil to mediæval Christianity and which was to play a great part in the making and ruin of nations — Mohammedanism. It originated in the hot peninsula of Arabia, a land of desert, oasis, and infrequent strips of arable territory, which had hitherto contributed very little to civilization or history. The Arabians or Saracens<sup>1</sup> of the land were split into nomadic tribes, living by their herds of sheep or camels, and dwelling usually in black haircloth tents, with only here and there a permanent city. The tribes were frequently at bloody feud one with another: anything like a general government was lacking. The general conditions of life were those of the Hebrew patriarchs — Abraham and Jacob.<sup>2</sup> The religion of these desert dwellers was a crude idolatry, but their old traditions and intercourse with the Christians and Jews of Syria had given them certain higher religious notions: how besides their heathen deities there was one great god (Allah) in the heavens. They were a valiant, vigorous race, with many fine mental qualities; but their disunion had made them harmless to neighboring nations. Now a genius was to unite them, imbue them with religious fanaticism, and launch them on the conquest of a great part of the world.

**14. *The career of Mohammed.*** Mohammed, "the Prophet of Islam," was born at **Mecca**, the largest city of Arabia, about

<sup>1</sup> These names have come to mean practically the same people.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs were Semites of the same great race as the Jews and had a similar language. They claimed to be descended from Ishmael, the son of Abraham and the half-brother of Isaac.



571. Although at first merely a poor camel-driver, he became comparatively rich by a lucky marriage. He was always a contemplative, mystically minded individual, and in 611 he announced to his friends that he had seen visions: — Allah, the high God, had commissioned him to order the Arabs to put away their idols, and to adore the one God after the manner of the new gospel which Mohammed had been empowered as “the last of the Prophets” to deliver. Mohammed to-day would probably be regarded as an interesting, harmless “crank.” Among his unsophisticated countrymen he was taken more seriously. Did his inspiration come from God or the Devil, was the question, or was he a plain impostor? His own tribe at Mecca exiled him in 622,<sup>1</sup> with threats against his life. **He fled to Medina**, the next largest city in Arabia, and there had far greater success. Medina adopted his gospel and at his summons took up arms against the tribes who refused to be converted. Mohammed speedily developed remarkable qualities as a general and an organizer, as well as an ability to inspire even forced converts with the truth of his mission, and to make them its zealous champions. Tribe after tribe went over to him. **When he died in 632 he was the uncrowned King of Arabia**, and was preparing to attack both the Roman and the Persian Empires. History has long since ceased to dismiss Mohammed merely as an impostor whose work was promoted by Satan. There is much that is noble in his character. He doubtless had an honest belief in his own gospel; and that gospel has profoundly affected human history.

15. *The doctrines of Islam.* Mohammed’s fundamental doctrine was one of great simplicity: “**There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet.**” Allah (God) had in the past

<sup>1</sup> This flight to Medina is called the “Hegira” by the Moslems, who use it as a starting-point for dating their years. The Mohammedan year is 354 (sometimes 355) days. The year 1332 A.H. (*Anno Hegiræ*) began November 30, 1913 A.D.



revealed Himself to men by several great prophets whereof Jesus was one of the mightiest; but Jesus was not the actual son of God, and now Mohammed is sent with a better and final revelation. At the "Last Day," when all souls are assembled for judgment, all sinful Moslems and the whole mass of unbelievers (Christians, Jews, pagans, etc.) will be consigned to the endless Gehenna, and "there shall they be [forever] amid boiling water, in a dense smoke, and they shall drink of the scalding water." True Moslems, however, are promised an eternal paradise. They shall "recline on couches, adorned with gold and precious stones," in delightful gardens: they shall eat and drink delicious foods and wines continually without satiety, and be attended by ravishingly beautiful maidens, the *houris*. All this, like the woes of Gehenna, shall never end.

To win this reward no great religious austerities are necessary. He who prays five times per day, fasts from sunrise till sunset during the sacred month of Ramadan, gives liberal alms to the poor, goes once in a normal lifetime on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, and keeps the leading moral precepts in Mohammed's book of revelations, the Koran,<sup>1</sup> will be sure of eternal happiness. But **the surest way to win heaven is to fall fighting against the unbeliever**: then he who dies martyr is translated instantly to paradise. He who embarks on the "holy war" and survives will have the spoils of the infidel; he who perishes secures the greater reward in heaven. What a prospect to the booty-loving, courageous, imaginative, and withal sensual desert-dwellers! Mohammed's religion unites worldly reward with emotional appeal as does no other gospel.

Islam,<sup>2</sup> then, has certain great temporal advantages over

<sup>1</sup> The Koran is not a connected book. It is a series of disconnected utterances (*suras*) of Mohammed, somewhat on the style of the Hebrew psalms. It contains much noble poetry, although the imagery is often too forced and Oriental to appeal to Western students.

<sup>2</sup> This official name for Mohammed's religion means "Submission to the will of Allah."



mediæval Christianity: — there is no intricate theology, no hard doctrine of perfection; one need not turn monk to be certain to win heaven, but only lead a life of very reasonable morality,<sup>1</sup> and execute certain entirely practicable religious acts. It is not surprising that a large part of the population of the Orient, on whom Christianity had only feeble hold, fell away at the first attack by these strange Arabian fanatics.

**16. *The conquests of the Arabians* (632–732).** Mohammed left able lieutenants. The **caliphs** (“Successors of the Prophet”) sent forth their hordesmen simultaneously against Persia and the East Romans. Those mighty empires had just been terribly weakened by a long, exhausting war, and were in no condition to resist the unexpected onslaught of the redoubtable desert horsemen. Religious enthusiasm and Semitic passion made the Arabians for the while irresistible. “Victory or paradise is before you: hell and the Devil are behind you: — charge!” a Moslem general is said to have called to his men, as he launched them upon superior numbers — and not in vain.

**All Persia was conquered** within about ten years. After 641, that country was prostrate before the caliphs. **Syria and Egypt** were as quickly torn from the Eastern Empire. The early caliphs proved themselves men of great skill in organizing their new governments, dealing justly with the conquered populations<sup>2</sup> and elaborating the simple laws and usages of the Arabians to meet the needs of a great empire. After 661, their capital was transferred from Mecca to Damascus, and the caliphate became a family possession of the Ommiad Dynasty. In 750, this dynasty was overthrown by the line of the **Abba-**

<sup>1</sup> Thus Mohammed very conveniently allowed his followers *four* wives. The Christian precept, “Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect,” is not found in the Koran.

<sup>2</sup> Under the temporal advantages offered, practically all the Persians, and a large fraction of the Syrian and Egyptian Christians, accepted Islam; but with such non-Moslems as submitted cheerfully and paid tribute, the early caliphs dealt justly and even liberally. Taxes were probably lighter under their rule than under the later Roman régime.



sides, who founded the new capital of **Bagdad**: the Ommiads keeping only the independent government of Spain. But some years earlier the Arabian Empire had already reached its limits toward Europe. Northern Africa was wrested (about 690) from the East Romans; in 711, a Moslem force crossed to Spain and



THE MOHAMMEDAN LANDS IN THE EAST

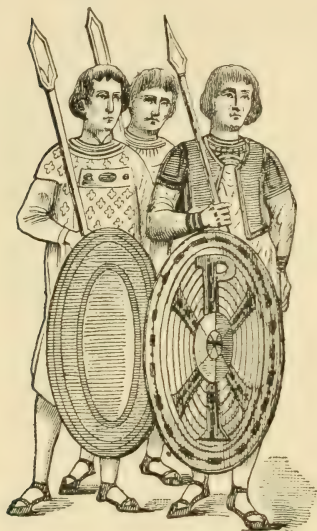
destroyed the kingdom of the Visigoths. How western Europe was saved at Tours is told in another place (see chapter v).

Frankland, however, was not the only European region whose life was in sore peril early in the eighth century. Fifteen years before the battle of Tours the Moslems had dashed themselves upon the walls of Constantinople.

17. *The Eastern Empire repulses the Saracens (717).* To Constantinople nearly all the remnants of the old Græco-Roman art, learning, and culture seem to have retreated. Western Europe was at this time deep in the semi-barbarism into which it had been cast by the Germanic invasions. It would require centuries before conditions would be such that



it could welcome again and understand the ancient civilization which Constantinople could give back. Had the Moslems taken the great city in 717, the loss to later civilization might have proved incalculable; but fortunately there were still huge stores of strength in the Eastern Empire. Many provinces had



SOLDIERS OF THE IMPERIAL  
GUARD

Restored. (*From a mosaic in the Church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, Italy.*) On one of the shields, note the two first letters of the Greek word for Christ: XP

been lost, but the old Greek lands and Asia Minor opposed a desperate resistance to the invader.<sup>1</sup> Christian fanaticism in turn was rekindled:—was it not doing God and the saints a service to hurl back the invading blasphemers?

The Empire had been sorely shaken in the preceding wars, but when in 717 a mighty Moslem land and naval armament appeared before Constantinople, Islam was doomed to its first great repulse. A bold soldier, **Leo the Isaurian**,<sup>2</sup> seized the power and conducted a valorous defense worthy of the old Roman traditions. An unwontedly severe winter devastated the camp of the besiegers, — southern - born as they were. A recent invention —

Greek Fire<sup>3</sup> — enabled Leo to destroy the attacking fleet. A pitiful remnant of the great host escaped back to the Caliph-

<sup>1</sup> In the lands which were truly Grecianized or Latinized, the Moslems as a rule penetrated only very slowly. It was in the *Oriental* part of the Empire that they found the promptest welcome.

<sup>2</sup> Isauria was a mountainous district in southeastern Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> This was a combustible, probably composed of naphtha, sulphur, and pitch. It could be poured or hurled upon the enemy, and could not be extinguished with water. Until the invention of gunpowder, it was the most destructive agent known in war.



ate, to tell the tale of how Allah had refused victory to his chosen people. The Eastern Empire was saved. More than seven centuries were to pass ere the Moslem standards might wave upon the walls of Constantinople, and in the mean time



THE EAST ROMAN EMPIRE ABOUT 750 A.D.

The Mohammedan lands in the West

western Europe was to grow strong enough to advance Christian civilization alone. The present age owes an unmeasured debt to Leo the Isaurian.

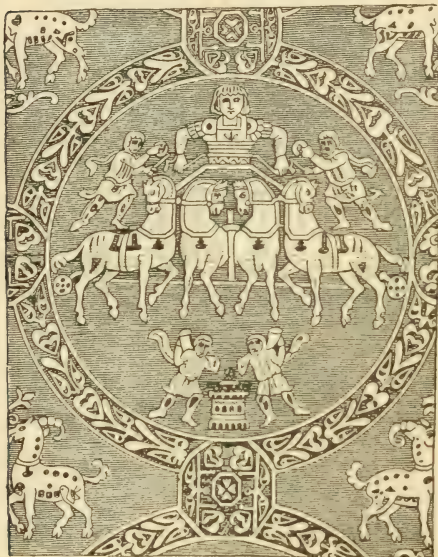
**18. The later Caliphate.** This defeat, followed by the disaster at Tours (732), dampened the ardor of the Moslems. Their first fanaticism had ceased. The original Arab conquerors had become a mere fraction of the less vigorous races which had now accepted Islam. About 800, the Caliphate of Bagdad under Haroun-al-Raschid, was at its height. The caliph was obeyed from the Atlantic to the frontier of India. His capital had all the gold and glitter, also the tawdriness and filth, of a great and typical Oriental city. The Moslems rapidly learned the refinements and arts of the conquered races. They even developed certain sciences, and transmitted their learning to the Western world. Much of our knowledge of **algebra** and **chemistry** is



derived from them: also our "Arabic numerals."<sup>1</sup> Many manufacturing processes, — e.g., the making of muslin and of paper; and many plants — as lemons, oranges, and the sugar-cane and tulip — had an Arabian origin. After 833, however, the power of the Bagdad caliphs declined rapidly. Provinces

revolted: the barbarous Turks invaded from the North.<sup>2</sup> By 900, the Arabians had ceased to be formidable to the men of the West.

19. *The wonderful city of Constantinople.* The Eastern Empire had survived the death-grapple with Islam. Leo the Isaurian (717-41) and the Emperors after him reorganized it upon a firmer basis. Many provinces had been lost, but old Asia Minor and Greece plus Macedonia and Thrace gave a large and wealthy realm, with



BYZANTINE PATTERNED SILK

(From the Musée de Cluny.) The center medallion represents the games in the Circus

inhabitants far more industrious and advanced in the arts of peace than any neighbors. The East Roman (or "Byzantine") navy was the strongest on the Mediterranean. The merchant ships of Constantinople carried most of the world's commerce. The Government of the Empire, although highly despotic, was

<sup>1</sup> Which the Arabians seem in turn to have borrowed from the Hindus.

<sup>2</sup> The Turks (a race originating in the great plains of Central Asia) are in no wise akin to the Arabs. They were invaders who presently overthrew the caliphate, although they adopted Islam. They have proved a decidedly inferior race to the Arabs in everything, save the deeds of war.



in the main exceedingly energetic and intelligent. A well-disciplined professional army held back Moslem invaders from Syria and Bulgarian invaders from the North. Down to about 1050, the Eastern Empire remained the best-governed and most highly civilized state in the world, well able to command the respect of its neighbors.

**Constantinople was the focus of this great dominion:** its commerce, the number of its factories (which supplied the world with metal goods, fine fabrics, delicate glass, and many other wares which other nations had forgotten how to manufacture), its magnificent public buildings adorned with statues filched from old Athens or Rome, the vast multitudes, drawn from many lands, which swarmed its squares or cheered the races in the hippodrome, — all these things made men account it the wonder of the world. “The city guarded by God” was the name its proud citizens gave it. *Here alone*, if a man of the present age were suddenly to return to the ninth century, let us say, would be found conditions somewhat similar to modern life: — an intelligent government, great public buildings, something akin to modern universities, hospitals, etc., and a thriving commerce covering the known world.

Constantinople preserved this lordly position until well after the year 1000. Then her rulers became inefficient, new enemies (the Turks) attacked her, the rising power of Venice seized her commerce, and her power declined.

#### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Hegira; Koran; Islam; Caliph; Leo the Isaurian; Haroun-al-Raschid; Greek fire.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Mecca; Medina; Damascus; Bagdad; Constantinople.
  - (b) Mark on the map the regions conquered by the Mohammedans.
3. What were the principles of the Mohammedan belief? Why were they often more attractive to the Oriental people than the principles of Christianity?
4. What were the contributions of the Arabs to civilization?
5. Describe the civilization of the city of Constantinople at its best.



## EXERCISES

1. The work of Justinian.
2. Write a summary of the events occurring in western Europe during the period 571-750.
3. The East-Roman Empire is known also as the Byzantine and the Greek Empire. Why?
4. Which repulse of the Mohammedans — that at Constantinople, or that at Tours — was of greater importance to Europe?

## READING

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter VII. Robinson: no. 48.

*Modern Accounts.* Emerton: pp. 122-26. Seignobos: pp. 27-38, 39-46.

Bémont and Monod: pp. 99-114, 135-66, 336-47.



## CHAPTER V

### THE MONARCHY OF THE FRANKS

**20. Clovis (481–511) and the Merovingian Franks.** Of all the kingdoms founded by the Germanic invaders on the wreck of the old Western Roman Empire, only one really survived —



THE MONARCHY OF THE FRANKS

the kingdom of the Franks. Bloody and barbarous as the early annals of this kingdom seem, they cannot be ignored, for



the Franks were the founders both of modern France and, in a less direct sense, of modern Germany.

In former days the Franks had lain along the eastern bank of the Rhine, close neighbors to the Romans. During the storm and stress of the fifth century they moved across into the northern provinces of Gaul and seized their share of the dying Empire; but they differed from other invaders in that they never wholly evacuated their homeland beyond the Rhine. A large part of their dominions always lay in regions that had never submitted to the imperial legions.

The Franks were probably fiercer and seemingly less tractable to civilization than many other invaders. "From their youth up," wrote an anxious Roman, "war is their passion. [Against superior numbers] death may overwhelm them, but not fear." Their very name is usually derived from their favorite weapons, the *franciscas*, their great battle-axes with which they knew equally well how to smite and how to hurl. Nevertheless, uncouth as they were, they had elements of abiding strength. They were more familiar with the conquered Romans, thanks to long residence as neighbors, than certain other Germanic invaders, and, despite their original savagery, they amalgamated with them much better. Then their first great king, **Clovis**, became a Christian under conditions that gained him favor with a most influential body of his subjects.

Clovis was as brutal and cruel a war-lord as has ever defiled Germanic annals. Through treachery and blood he won his way to the supremacy over both the terrified Romans of North Gaul and the rival chieftains of his own nation; but he was becoming convinced that his old heathen gods could not help him as well in his fighting as the Deity of the Christians, whose priests never failed to promise temporal advantage to the "true believers." Little enough could Clovis understand of theology, but he was probably satisfied that "the white



Christ " was " good magic " and worth having on his side. Clovis's queen, Clothilde, was a Christian and constantly urged her religion upon her husband. At last, in 496, Clovis was in battle with the rival tribe the Alemanni. The fight was against him. His best axe-men were pressed hard. Clearly his old gods were of no avail. The king vowed then and there he would become a Christian if the Christians' God would give victory. The tide was turned. The Alemanni were routed. Clovis stood to his vow. He was baptized by St. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, and 3000 of his mighty men with him. " Bow down thine head meekly, O Sigambrian,"<sup>1</sup> spoke the bishop; " adore [the holy things] which thou hast burned: burn what thou hast adored."

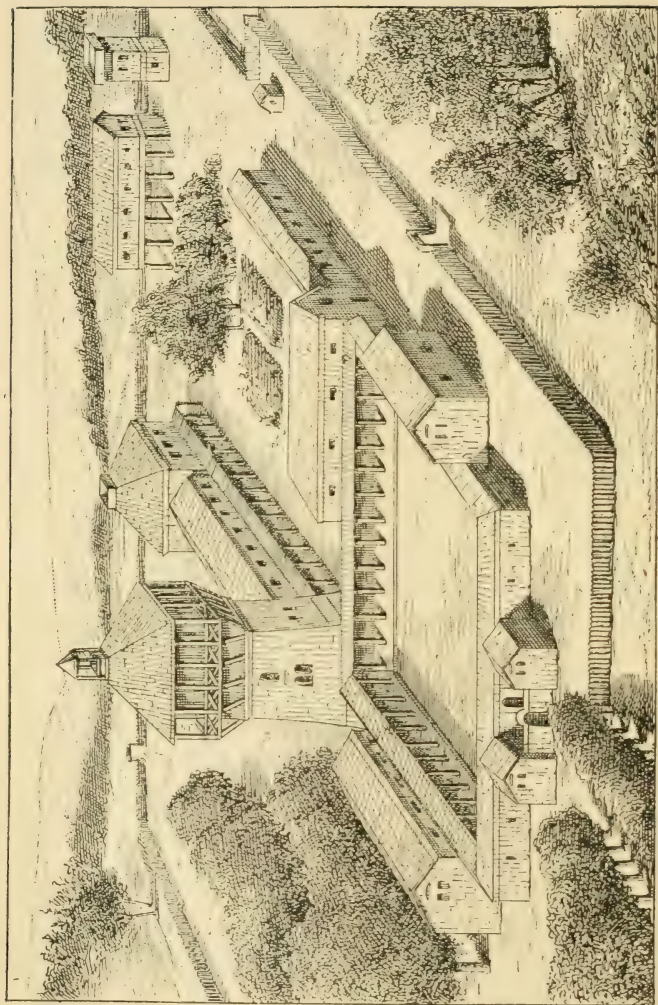
Seldom has a religious conversion produced more wide-reaching results. **Clovis became a Catholic Christian**, filled with a belligerent zeal for his new faith, while nearly all the other Germanic kings were Arian Christians, hated by the orthodox clergy as heretics little better than pagans. Clovis and his monarchy received the full support and benediction of the Catholic Church. Under his vigorous leadership and that of his immediate successors, nearly all of present-day France, plus a considerable strip along western Germany, became fused into the Frankish monarchy. The character of Clovis was the vilest. He removed rivals by assassination and waged blood-thirsty wars of spoliation, " in order, with God's help, to seize the land of the Arians." In all these bloody deeds, in which self-seeking was masked by piety, however, the Church blessed him in gratitude for his strenuous orthodoxy.<sup>2</sup>

The history of both France and Germany in one sense may be reckoned as beginning with his brutally effectual reign.

<sup>1</sup> The name for a branch of the Frankish peoples.

<sup>2</sup> After reciting various bloody and treacherous deeds, a pious chronicler adds: "The Lord cast Clovis's enemies under his power day after day, and increased his kingdom, because he walked with a right heart before Him, and did that which was pleasing in his sight."





# MEROVINGIAN MANOR HOUSE

Restored. Notice the great court surrounded by dwelling-rooms and a portico. A palisade encircles the whole, and a huge wooden tower for defense rises in the center. In the background are the farm buildings. (After Garnier and Ammann; *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*)



**21. *The evil successors of Clovis.*** The Merovingian Dynasty (which Clovis raised to power) ruled in Frankland as actual or nominal kings for more than two centuries after him. There was no strict rule of primogeniture among the Franks. Clovis divided his realm among his four sons, and the brothers promptly waged bloody war over the apportionment of the heritage. For three years (558-61) the kingdom was reunited, then fell asunder again with three grandsons of Clovis at each other's throats about the division of territory. Finally, in the seventh century there was an outward show of union, but by this time the energy of the Merovingian kings and the loyalty of their people had been well-nigh exhausted. The history of the time seems a mere chronicle of battle, treachery, and sudden death, with only a few important facts emerging clearly.

(a) **The Franks and the Romans were welded together into practically one society.** The men of East Frankland (Austria) were more Germanic, those of West Frankland (Neustria) more Roman; but there was now no sharp division between the invaders and the invaded.

(b) **City life was nearly destroyed.** The old Roman towns were sunken usually to starving hamlets. The free peasants were dwindling. The normal type of life was on the great landed estates, — the manor house of the lord, and the huts of the serfs close at hand.<sup>1</sup>

(c) **The arts of civilized life were half-forgotten.** The Church suffered, indeed, from the evil influences of the age: but in the Church was the only intellectual life. There were no schools outside the monasteries. Probably almost nobody save priests or monks understood the mysteries of reading and writing.

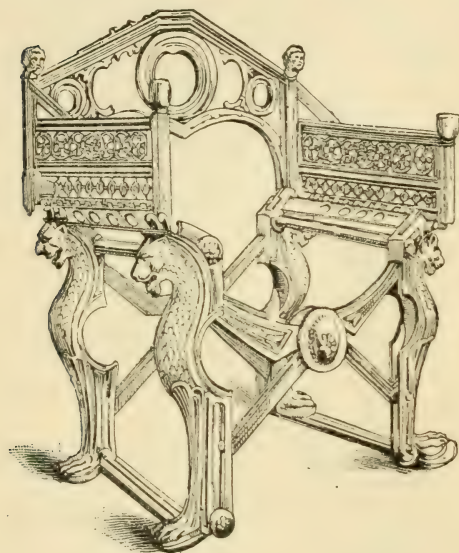
Then gradually a better day dawned.

**22. *The "Mayors of the Palace."*** The incessant civil wars of the Merovingian monarchs had been a great benefit to their

<sup>1</sup> This development of the great manor (*villa*) had been well under way in Roman times.



nobles; lands, power, and influence the kings must all grant to keep their warriors' aid. By the middle of the seventh century the kings were only nominally the first persons in their kingdom. **The supreme power had been grasped by the "Mayor of the Palace,"**<sup>1</sup> the chief of their royal officers. Practically every kingly function was usurped by these great prime minis-



CHAIR OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Restored in the twelfth century. (*In the Cabinet des Medailles*)

ters, while the helpless "kings" were confined on some great estate, and only produced as carefully guarded prisoners on state occasions.

Many of these mayors of the palace were men of great ability and applied their energy genuinely to the public good. Particularly, in a happy year **Charles Martel** (714-41) came into power. Far-sighted, active, and capable, he set himself to repressing the anarchy every-

where prevalent,<sup>2</sup> and restored something akin to law, order, and comparatively civilized life. It was well that he did so. In 732, a terrible peril confronted Frankland and all Christendom, and Charles needed his entire strength.

**23. The Battle of Tours (732).** In 711, the disastrous battle

<sup>1</sup> The "Major Domus," as the officers are often styled, after the Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Much effective preliminary work had been done by Charles's father, Pepin of Heristal, the mayor of the palace before him, and himself no mean figure in Frankish annals.



of Xeres delivered Spain into the hands of the Moslem invaders. The long-decadent Visigothic kingdom vanished in blood and smoke. Only in the extreme northwest of the land, close to the Atlantic and the stormy Bay of Biscay, a little band of Christians turned at bay, and checked the invader. But this seemed a mere incident. Spain was now practically a Mohammedan land. In 721, the victorious hordes of Islam began pressing over the Pyrenees and threatening southern Gaul.

Odo, the Duke of Aquitaine, had been a disobedient vassal of Charles Martel. He strove at first to fling back the "Paynims" with his own might, but by 732 he had been so beaten that he had no refuge save in the help of his overlord. It was a great crisis confronting Christianity. If Charles could be overcome, there seemed no reason why at least southern Frankland and Italy (where the Lombards were very weak) should not become two more provinces for Islam. The Moslem leader, Abd-Rahman, sent his light cavalry ravaging and pillaging almost to the Rhine.<sup>1</sup> Presently **near Tours (732), on the Loire River**, Charles, with the whole levy of northern Frankland, came face to face with these foes of Christian civilization. The battering charges of the Moslem horsemen were desperate; but "like walls of ice" the Frankish axemen flung them back. All day the fight lasted. By nightfall, Abd-Rahman was slain, and the Christians were as terrible as ever. Courage had oozed out of the Orientals: "Allah had turned against them." In the darkness they fled away southward, leaving huge spoils to the Christians.

**Never again was Frankland and the west in such mortal danger.** Possibly it is due to Charles Martel<sup>2</sup> and his sturdy

<sup>1</sup> The invading host probably was made up mostly of *Moors*. The Arabs had found the inhabitants of North Africa very apt converts to Islam: and their habits of life and temperament were very like those of the original Mohammedans. There were many Spanish-Christian *renegados* also in the Moslem host.

<sup>2</sup> Charles seems to have gained his surname "Martel" ("the Hammer") after this terrible *pounding* of the Moslems.



Austrasians and Neustrians that Europe and America to-day are reading the Bible and not the Koran.

**24. Pepin the Short (741-68).** Charles Martel, the uncrowned King of Frankland, left his power jointly to his two sons, **Pepin** "the Short" and **Karlmann**. The latter, however, acting in a manner characteristic of the age, soon voluntarily resigned his "mayorship" and went to save his soul in a monastery: but Pepin proved himself a son worthy of his militant father. The borders of Frankland were extended. The outlying "Dukes"<sup>1</sup> of Bavaria and Aquitaine were reduced to obedience. In 752, Pepin was able to disregard the lingering remnants of the Merovingian puppet kings, and **cause himself to be crowned king in their stead**. This he did with the consent of the most august moral force then in Christendom — the Roman Papacy. "It is better," replied the Pope to Pepin's inquiring messengers, "that he who has the power in the state should be king, rather than he who is falsely called the king."

The last Merovingian puppets ("Sluggard Kings" the last of them were styled) disappeared from history. A new and worthier dynasty was on the throne of Frankland. Pepin the Short threw his protecting agis over a **great missionary, St. Boniface**,<sup>2</sup> the "apostle to the Germans." The Gospel was preached among the Teutonic peoples in modern Hesse and Thuringia. By a skillful mingling of argument and authority, the priests of the old heathenism were silenced. Monasteries sprang up at Fulda and elsewhere which became notable centers for temporal civilization as well as for religion. Only the fierce Saxons and Frisians to the north resisted Boniface and kept their ancient gods until Pepin's son, the mighty Charle-

<sup>1</sup> The term "duke" (Latin, *dux*) at this time may be often taken as equivalent to a "king writ small": — i.e., a national chieftain, who is not *quite* able to assert his independent authority.

<sup>2</sup> He was an Englishman. It is interesting to notice that thus early (and Boniface in turn had important English and Irish predecessors) the churches of the British Isles began to distinguish themselves by missionary activity.



magne, preached to them with the gospel of the sword. Otherwise the work of Christianizing the Germans had been nearly accomplished ere Boniface died a martyr's death (755).

But Pepin did more than sustain Boniface in his activities. In 754, Pope Stephen II appeared in Frankland begging military help against the much-hated Lombards who seemed about to seize Rome.<sup>1</sup> Pepin could not forget the favor done him in the matter of the transfer of the kingship, and the formidable Frankish army was put in motion.

**Twice Pepin descended into Italy.** The second time he forced the Lombard king to admit his overlordship and to surrender certain territories in Central Italy which he had seized from the feeble viceroy of the Eastern Empire. These lands Pepin did not care to administer from a distance. He bestowed them as a temporal possession upon "St. Peter," — i.e., upon the Pope. From this time forth the Frankish kings were established as official protectors of the Papacy, and the Popes were established as regular civil rulers in Italy — both facts pregnant with future history.

In 768, Pepin the Short died after a prosperous reign which paved the way for greater events to come.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Clovis; "Arian Christian"; Merovingian; Primogeniture; Austrasia; Mayor of the Palace; Charles Martel; Tours (learn its date); "Sluggard Kings"; St. Boniface.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Rheims; Tours; Fulda.
  - (b) Mark on the map the growth of the Frankish territory under Clovis.
  - (c) Compare Clovis's lands with modern France in extent.

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<sup>1</sup> The Popes were in sore peril. If the Lombards seized Rome, there would be a limit to the independence of action of the Popes, even if the Lombards professed to respect them. The Popes had quarreled with their former protectors — the Eastern Emperors — on theological matters. Besides, these Eastern rulers were too busy fighting the Moslems to send efficient help to Italy to protect their old territories against the Lombards. What the Popes desired was a protector, powerful, but not too near at hand. Pepin seemed to be such a champion.



3. Wherein did the Franks differ from other German tribes?
4. How does the reason which the Pope gave for consenting to Pepin's coronation compare with the idea of the early Germans as to what a king should be?
5. What were the results of Pepin's interference in Italy?

### EXERCISES

1. The character and deeds of Clovis; of Charles Martel; of Pepin the Short. Compare these three men as to their relations with the Church.
2. Châlons and Tours are classed among the world's most important battles. (See Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles*.) Compare Tours with Adrianople and Châlons as to importance. What is meant by a "decisive battle"?
3. Why did the Popes desire that their "protector" should not be "too near at hand"?

### READING

*Sources.* Ogg: chapters IV, VIII. Robinson: nos. 17, 43-47, 49-52.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 19, 25-26, 48-52. Emerton: pp. 60-72, 114-22, 126-34, 150-79. Bémont and Monod: pp. 64-98, 167-79. Duruy: pp. 32-73.



## CHAPTER VI

### CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS AGE

**25. *Charlemagne's personality and power.*** In 768, Pepin the Short, the great King of the Franks, passed away to make room for his greater son, whom the common usage of history knows in Latin as Carolus Magnus, or, to use the familiar French form, **Charlemagne**.<sup>1</sup> The new monarch may be considered on the whole as the most important personage in mediæval history. His reign marks an epoch between the ancient world and the modern, and his masterful personality stamped its deep impress upon his own age, and cast its shadow over several subsequent centuries.

An intimate companion<sup>2</sup> has left us a well-rounded pen-portrait of this truly remarkable man. We are told that he was "large and robust, and of commanding stature and excellent proportions. The top of his head was round, his eyes large and animated, his nose somewhat long. He had a fine head of gray hair, and his face was bright and pleasant; so that whether standing or sitting he showed great presence and dignity. His walk was firm and the whole carriage of his body was manly. His voice was clear, but not so strong as his frame would have led one to expect."

We are told of his simple habits as to dress; his temperance in eating and drinking; his delight in riding and hunting, and manly sports. "He was ready and fluent in speaking, and able to express himself with great clearness. He took pains to learn foreign languages, gaining such a mastery of Latin that he

<sup>1</sup> He may very properly be called in English Charles or Karl the Great. Down to 771, he shared his power with his brother Karlmann, who then died.

<sup>2</sup> Einhard, who wrote an excellent *Life of Charlemagne*, — one of the best literary productions of the Middle Ages.



could make an address in that tongue as well as in his own; while Greek he could understand rather than speak." When at table he delighted in music, or in listening to the reading of pious books or histories. He was fond of attending the lectures



A BANQUET

Carolingian period. (*Restoration after a tenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale*)

on grammar, logic, and astronomy, of the learned men of his day. One must not exaggerate the profundity of this royal scholar, however. With all his genuine love of letters, he never really learned how to write.

In his temperament Charlemagne had many human infirmities; he could be cruel and perpetrate acts of manifest tyranny, but considering his age he may be called just, magnanimous, and far-sighted. From his father he inherited an effective war-power, and none of the neighbors of the Franks could match him in arms. He had a high regard for the old Roman civilization as he understood it, and throughout his reign labored earnestly and intelligently to increase the knowledge and influence the morals of his people. Beginning his career simply as a powerful Germanic king, as he found his dominions swelling into a veritable Western Empire, he allowed his imagination



to lead his ambition to a nobler title. **The ruler who began as King of the Franks, ended as a Roman Emperor, claiming all the power of the old Cæsars.**

**26. Charlemagne's Saxon wars.** Charlemagne's work was only partly that of a warrior, yet some of his campaigns left a permanent stamp upon history. When he came to the throne a large fraction of present-day Germany was not merely independent of the Frankish monarchy, but was heathen and savage. Behind their swamps and forests the **Saxons** had resisted every attempt at their conversion and civilization. Many years of Charlemagne's reign (772 to 804, with many intermissions) were consumed in the attempt to bring this fierce, untamed, yet potentially noble people under the yoke of the Frankish monarchy. Modern ethics do not commend the propagation of Christianity and civilization by the sword, yet the fact remains that if the Saxons had been let alone one of the most valuable portions of the German folk would have been left to centuries of squalor and degradation. Campaign after campaign Charlemagne directed into their country. Usually the Frankish host invaded the swampy Saxon land in the spring and remained for the summer, chasing the enemy into the forests, taking hostages, bribing or browbeating the prisoners into accepting baptism, and finally erecting a few fortresses in which were left garrisons. Then the invaders would retire; the Saxons would emerge from the greenwood; some of the Frankish fortresses would be taken; others besieged. The next spring would bring a new invading host, and the former process would be repeated; only each campaign fastened the Frankish yoke a little more firmly, and left the pagan party a little weaker and less resolved upon resistance. With the host of Charlemagne would go another host of priests and abbots, "so that this race (says the mediæval chronicler), which from the beginning of the world had been bound by the chains of demons, might bow to the yoke of the sweet and gentle Christ."



Wherever conditions admitted, churches and monasteries were built, bishoprics established, and the whole population duly baptized — usually under sore compulsion.

It was a weary, uneventful war. There were no great battles. The contest was almost entirely of the guerrilla order; petty skirmishes, raids, and sieges. In 785, Wittekind, the chief Saxon leader, made his submission; but many of his followers held out till 804. Thenceforth there was peace in the exhausted land. **With surprising rapidity Christianity and Frankish refinements took root in Saxony.** A century later it could be reckoned among the most civilized countries of Europe and was actually giving Emperors to Charlemagne's old dominions<sup>1</sup> — one of the most astonishing transformations in history.

**27. The downfall of the Lombards.** Charlemagne's father, Pepin, had answered the call of the Pope for deliverance against the oppressive Lombards, but his death had seemed to relieve this intractable people of most of their fears of Frankish intervention. For a moment Charlemagne actually was likely to become the ally of King Desiderius, by becoming his son-in-law; but on some pretext, the Lombard princess was soon put away. To the marked relief of the Pope (who saw in Charlemagne his only worldly help against domination from Pavia), the two monarchs proceeded to quarrel. Probably Desiderius had trusted to a faction among the Frankish nobles for help against their lord, but no disaffection materialized. In 773, with an overpowering host, the great King of the North swept through the Alpine passes. Desiderius dared not risk a battle. He shut himself within his fortress-capital of Pavia, awaiting the outside help which never came.

Charlemagne blockaded the city, and let famine do its work. He himself left his army to press the siege while he went on to Rome — there to be received with all those pompous honors the Romans have known so well how to bestow in every age.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 74.



He was duly proclaimed "Patrician" <sup>1</sup> of the Holy and Eternal City. The citizens took oath to him; and he promised the Pope to confirm to him the very wide but equally ill-defined grants of temporal authority in Italy which had been made by Pepin. In 774, Pavia surrendered. Desiderius and his children were shut up in monasteries. **The Lombard royal line was at end;** and with it one more of the kingdoms which had reared themselves on the ruins of the old Roman Empire of the West. Outside of the petty Anglo-Saxon states in England every one of these kingdoms had perished except that of Frankland. The Moslems had absorbed Africa and Spain; Charlemagne held Gaul and all of North and Central Italy. "King of Italy" he was now styled, when he declared himself Desiderius's lawful successor. He was now the holder of two crowns, besides being "Patrician" of Rome, making him an almost indispensable protector to the Pope. Such a monarch might well aspire to the imperial title.

**28. Charlemagne's other wars.** The earlier Frankish kings had possessed indefinite rights of overlordship east of the Rhine, extending into what is now South and Central Germany and western Austria. Part of the folk here were Germanic, farther east lay the savage Slavs and the still more savage Avars. The security of his frontier, as well as the honor due his name, required that these restless peoples should be conquered thoroughly. Charlemagne devoted much of his military energy to the task. In 786, the outbreak of Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, the leading prince among these uneasy vassals, gave the great king abundant pretext for a thorough conquest. Tassilo was deposed, and his nigh-independent **dukedom of Bavaria was absorbed.** The chastisement of his barbarous allies the Avars carried the war far to the east. The Frankish armies were not halted until much of the modern land of Austria had been

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of this word, in Charlemagne's case, is very hard to define briefly. Perhaps "Royal and Especial Protector" is the best translation.



brought within Charlemagne's growing domains. Christianity (hitherto with a very feeble footing in those parts) now became the dominant, and soon the only lawful, religion. Almost the entire German people were brought to the new faith, and a beginning had been made in the conversion of the non-Germans beyond them.

In 778, Charlemagne had gone on an expedition elsewhere, of greater fame than importance. Some disaffected emirs had invited him to invade Mohammedan Spain. A few cities directly south of the Pyrenees were seized, but it was soon evident that the Moslems had too firm a grip on the land to be readily shaken; and Charlemagne had other projects. On the retreat through the pass of **Roncesvalles** the Basque mountaineers fell on the king's rear guard, and slew "**Count Roland of Brittany**" and a contingent with him. It was an insignificant loss, but two and a half centuries later it was seized upon by the French minstrels, and made the subject of a great epic poem. The **Chanson de Roland**, telling how Roland and his knights were slain at Roncesvalles, forms the burden of the noblest epic produced in the Age of Chivalry. After a few years, however, Charlemagne reoccupied the country as far as the Ebro, and organized it into the Spanish "March."<sup>1</sup> This was an important step in the Christian recovery of Spain.

**29. The coronation of Charlemagne.** As years went on, as the Frankish monarchy grew from power to power, as its ruler seemed ever more irresistible in war, more indefatigable in spreading the works of peace, the conviction doubtless deepened steadily that here was a sovereign and a dominion for which the old names and titles of a mere German kingdom were totally inadequate. Even in Charlemagne's boyhood no one seems to have questioned that, however much the authority

<sup>1</sup> The "Marches" (or in Germany, "Marks") were frontier districts, usually of high military importance, ruled by a "Count of the Marches" ("Marquis," or "Markgraf"), who ranked very high in the scale of mediæval nobility.



of the Cæsar of Constantinople may have been defied in fact, in theory he was the lord of at least the whole Christian world. But the Lombards had destroyed the last vestige of East Roman authority in Italy, before they had been themselves overwhelmed by the Franks. The Popes had quarreled with the Eastern Cæsars on many theological points, and they were



CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

also profoundly jealous of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who affected a kind of equality with themselves. Could there be two Roman Emperors? Could the old Empire of the West, whereof the fame had never been forgotten, ever be revived? Could not the "Roman People,"<sup>1</sup> whose ancestors had once

<sup>1</sup> The remnant of the Roman population, that lived on in the vast but crumbling city all through the Middle Ages, never ceased to take pride in their ancestry, to trade on their great name, and to affect to keep up the traditions of Roman sovereignty. It was an absurd pretension, but so captivated were men by the fame of the Eternal City that at times they half-recognized it.



ruled the world, bestow the imperial title on whom they would? Should not the Pope, the Vicar of Christ on earth, have a great part in the bestowal of the greatest temporal honor?

Such questions must have been earnestly debated all through the last decade of the eighth century. The time was ripe for bold assertion of the claims of Charlemagne; for at Constantinople the imperial throne had been seized by a brilliant but unscrupulous woman, Irene; and it was very doubtful if in strict law a woman could reign over the Roman Empire. If her title were bad, the throne of Augustus and of Constantine was vacant.

In 800, Charlemagne found himself in Rome to quell certain local disturbances. It was Christmas Day. A brilliant company had gathered in the magnificent and sacred Basilica of St. Peter.<sup>1</sup> The king was praying at the great altar. One can imagine the impressive ceremonial: the incense smoke, the chanting choir, the splendidly arrayed courtiers in the nave; the still more splendidly vested ecclesiastics nearer the altar. Suddenly Pope Leo approached the kneeling monarch, and placed on his head a glittering crown. Catching the meaning instantly, the populace made the great church quiver with their shout, "**To Charles the Mighty, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God, — be long life and victory!**"

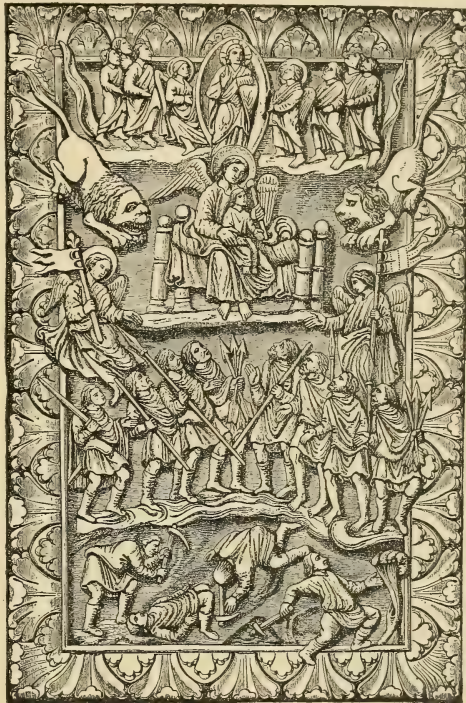
Whether Charlemagne was Emperor because the Roman people had so saluted him, because the Pope as God's vicegerent had crowned him, or because by his own glory and victories he had won the title (which this act then merely proclaimed), no man at the moment took pains to decide. Charlemagne afterward declared himself displeased at what had befallen in the church. Perhaps he wished the Pope's part had been less, yet in any event he made no effort to repudiate the title. For

<sup>1</sup> Not the present famous church of St. Peter, but its predecessor, on the same site; a building in some respects possibly nobler than the existing structure.



the rest of his reign (fourteen years) he is **Carolus Augustus** in his proclamations, even as an old Roman Emperor. He consciously tries to centralize his authority. He never becomes ashamed of his old Germanic traditions or institutions; he never plays the tyrant; nevertheless the world sees something very different from the old Frankish monarchy. Here is the old Western Empire revived; albeit on a thoroughly Christian and Germanic basis. The "**Holy Roman Empire**" is born.

30. *Charlemagne the civilizer.* Charlemagne's empire roughly corresponded with the old Empire of the West. Various provinces<sup>1</sup> were lacking, but he had a hold on Germany such as no genuine Cæsar had possessed. To administer these



SPECIMEN OF CAROLINGIAN ART

The cover of a prayer-book of the time of Charlemagne. This composition is obviously suggested by Psalm LVII. At the top there is a representation of God surrounded by heavenly beings. At his feet seated upon a couch is an angel holding a child on his lap, symbolizing the soul of man which rests in the shadow of the wings of God. The angel is viewed as the divinely sent deliverer and the winged figures represent Mercy and Truth. The soul of man, though protected by the divine wings and the angel's arms, is threatened by evil ones represented by lions and by hostile bands which approach him, but stand back in awe. They are destined to fall into the pit digged by themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Especially Spain, Africa, and Britain. The Emperors of Constantinople also still held southern Italy and Sicily.



great dominions he used no complex machinery. At his court were a few high officers, and his council of worldly wise bishops and battle-loving noblemen; in the various districts were counts<sup>1</sup> to administer justice, enforce the laws, and lead the provincial militia; over the *marks* (the important frontier provinces) were *markgrafs*, usually tried military men. To supervise these local officers and keep them to their duty, Charlemagne sent his *missi dominici*, imperial messengers, usually dispatched in pairs, and ever visiting and reporting upon the condition of the nations. This system worked admirably with such a person as Charlemagne at its head. Under less skillful guidance it proved too simple to be really efficient.

But Charlemagne gave more than firm government with law and order. **Under his fostering a real revival of learning and letters took place.** Literature and mere literacy were at a very low ebb, even in the Church; when he became king, he devoted himself with genuine enthusiasm to combating the evil. To aid him in this task he summoned from England a distinguished scholar, **Alcuin**, who became master of the "Palace School" — a sort of model academy maintained at court, and frequented by the youths of noble family. The bishops and abbots throughout the Empire were required to establish similar schools for their localities, while earnestly did Charlemagne combat the notion that ignorance was compatible with genuine piety. "Let schools be established in each monastery or bishopric" (ran his mandate) "in which boys may learn to read, and to correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books."

Under Alcuin's guidance there was a widespread revival of interest in the old Latin classics. Cicero, Horace, Virgil, and Seneca were copied and studied in numerous monasteries; and

<sup>1</sup> Literally, *comites*, "companions," i.e., of the king or Emperor, and hence his local representatives.



their style imitated in poems, histories, and essays. There was little originality in the literary attempts — usually a merely slavish rehandling of ideas that were new eight centuries previously; but it was a great thing that the wisdom of the ancients was held in honor, and that a mighty ruler exalted the scholar as well as the warrior.

How Charlemagne disciplined unworthy ecclesiastics, reorganized the Frankish Church, established just systems of laws, promoted skillful agriculture, — there is no space here to tell. In 814, the great Emperor died at the height of his prosperity. German and Roman seemed welded together into a new and better Western Empire, and the end of the centuries of confusion appeared to have come.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Wittekind; Desiderius; Pavia; Patrician; Ost-Mark; Roncesvalles; Chanson de Roland; Marches (Marks); Count; Alcuin; Palace School (Scola Palatina); Missi Dominici.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Pavia.
  - (b) Mark the bounds of Charlemagne's Empire at his accession and at his death.
  - (c) Make a list of his wars, and mark the regions of the wars on the map. What inference would you make from a comparison of the dates and places of his campaigns?
  - (d) In the lands north of the Mediterranean and west of the Balkan Peninsula, compare Charlemagne's Empire at its greatest extent with the Roman Empire at the beginning of our period.
3. Charlemagne's personality and habits.
4. Why did the conquest of the Saxons take such a long time? Compare with the conquest of the Lombards. What part was taken in the Saxon conquest by the Church?
5. What was the meaning of the great event of 800 A.D.?
6. The nature of the revival of learning.

### EXERCISES

1. Charlemagne's methods of warfare.
2. How were laws made under Charlemagne? How were they enforced?
3. The importance of the Church under Charlemagne.



4. What were the aims of Charlemagne in his wars?
5. What was the real basis of Charlemagne's power? Did his coronation increase it?
6. Charlemagne as a farmer.
7. Distinguish between "Count" and "Duke."
8. The relation of Charlemagne as Emperor to the Pope as head of the Papal States.
9. The Carolingian Renaissance.
10. The beginnings of feudalism under Charlemagne.

## READING

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter ix. Robinson: nos. 53-64.

*Modern accounts.* Emerton: pp. 180-235. Seignobos: pp. 52-62. Bémont and Monod: pp. 179-210. Duruy: pp. 73-85. Pattison: pp. 15-38.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE TERRIBLE NINTH CENTURY AND THE RISE OF FEUDALISM

31. *Why Charlemagne's Empire dissolved.* The Empire of Charlemagne was such an immediate success, the authority of the monarch was so generally acknowledged, the usages of civilization took such a marked revival that it was fondly imagined that the golden age had returned. Never was there more terrible illusion. **The age of Charlemagne was followed by over a century of misery and anarchy,** until very slowly a better era returned. The new "Holy Roman Empire" had really been held together by the personal genius of its founder. Under his feeble successors, elements of weakness at once displayed themselves. In 887, the Empire (temporarily reunited) was for the last time split asunder: it was never constituted in its fullness again; and when we study the conditions then existing, we marvel, not that the Empire fell, but that it lasted so long. Here are some of the causes which toppled down the imposing fabric which Charlemagne had erected.

(a) **The personal weakness of his successors** was a great bane. Some of these men were feeble; some were evil; none was free from bitter rivals. The Carolingian dynasty had already produced four great rulers in succession.<sup>1</sup> It was almost beyond nature to maintain the high quality of the line. Louis the Pious (814-40), who took over his mighty father's realm, was a man of many private virtues, but far too weak and priest-governed to control his own turbulent, undutiful sons, who contended bitterly in his own lifetime over the inheritance. Soon after his death the Empire was rent by devastating civil wars, with

<sup>1</sup> Pepin of Heristal, Charles Martel, Pepin the Short, and Charlemagne.



the younger brothers, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, striving against their elder brother Lothaire.<sup>1</sup> In 841, the battle of Fontenay (near Auxerre in modern France) ended in the defeat of Lothaire, and the parceling of the Empire into three separate dominions (Treaty of Verdun, 843). Only for less than four brief years (884–87) was the whole Empire again reunited.

(b) There was **no real national unity in Charlemagne's dominions**. The Lombards of Italy, the Gallo-Romans of Aquitaine, the "Franks" of mixed blood of the Rhinelands, the newly baptized Saxons of the North, felt nothing in common. The moment the firm hand of the master was withdrawn, the hostile elements sprang asunder.

(c) **The physical difficulties of proper communication** through such a vast empire were very great. The roads were wretched. Most of the great rivers were unbridged.<sup>2</sup> To send armies or even messengers from one province to another was a very slow and uncertain business.

(d) At the moment when the successors of Louis the Pious were rending one another in civil war, their arms ought to have been diverted against **the ravaging Northmen**. These hardy Scandinavian pirates began their raids almost as soon as the terrible Charlemagne had departed. With their long, open "dragon ships" they would row up the rivers of Gaul to some convenient point, disembark, then carry their forays far and wide. Individually they were better armed<sup>3</sup> and more battle-worthy than the average Frankish levy which could be brought against them. Bold pagans themselves, they found in the rich churches and abbeys their richest booty. For years this scourge

<sup>1</sup> To Lothaire was conceded the title of "Emperor": the others were merely "kings"; but the question was what lands should the two have and what should be Lothaire's exact power over them.

<sup>2</sup> In the period of the invasions, most of the magnificent road and bridge system maintained by the old Roman Emperors had fallen grievously into disrepair.

<sup>3</sup> They had particularly excellent shirts of woven "ring-mail," a kind of armor possessed by very few Frankish warriors.



went on without effectual check, until in 885 the "Northern Heathen" besieged Paris and met with a gallant resistance and a defeat.<sup>1</sup> Driven by necessity the inhabitants of Frankland at length developed an efficient cavalry (in the place of a mere infantry force) and covered their land with fortified castles against which the Northmen beat in vain. In 911, **Rollo**, a Scandinavian chief, made a treaty with Charles the Simple, King of the West Franks, which practically ended the invasions. The Northmen were to receive a large tract of land along the



NORSE SHIP  
(From the Bayeux Tapestry)

British Channel (**Normandy**), become Christians and the feudal vassals of the king, with Rollo as their duke. The plan succeeded. The Northmen assimilated Frankish habits with astonishing rapidity and were soon zealous for their new religion. Within a century Normandy was one of the most typical and relatively civilized lands of western Europe.<sup>2</sup>

**32. The growth of new national units.** It was a period of fearful cruelties and of utterly destructive warfare. Again civilization seemed to retrograde: but certain definite forces were at work. Italy was again for a while separating itself from northern Europe, under rulers who called themselves now "Emperors,"<sup>3</sup> now "Kings of Italy." There are clear tokens

<sup>1</sup> This is about the first time that Paris appears prominently in history. It is an important center from this time onward.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the Norse invasions, there were raids by the Saracens and Hungarians in the ninth and tenth centuries. To protect the frontiers, it was necessary to give their defenders, the "counts," unusual powers; thus they tended to become as strong as their rulers, and practically independent of them.

<sup>3</sup> Their actual power at best was over only a fraction of northern Italy.



of how Neustria (West Frankland) and Austrasia (East Frankland) were changing themselves into entirely separate nations — France and Germany. At Strassburg in 842, while Louis the German and Charles the Bald were still in alliance against Lothaire, they exchanged oaths of mutual fidelity, each in the language best understood by his brother's followers. The



THE FRANKS IN THE NINTH CENTURY

exact text of these oaths has been preserved. The pledge given before the men of the West was very obviously in something like French: that given before the men of the East still more resembled German. The division of lands made by the ensuing **Treaty of Verdun** (843) was also potent for future history.



To Charles the Bald was given the western lands, the nucleus obviously of modern France: to Louis the German, the eastern, most decidedly a large part of modern Germany. Their brother Lothair received a long, narrow strip of territory from the North Sea down into Italy. It corresponded to no territorial division ancient or modern. "Lothair's Kingdom"<sup>1</sup> was all they could call it afterward, and "Lorraine" remains to this day a debatable land betwixt France and Germany, a standing menace to the peace of Europe.

In 887, the last direct Carolingian ceased to reign in Germany. The independent "Kingdom of Lothair" had already been extinguished — temporarily. In France the Carolingians were not to be expelled from nominal power until 987: but the age of Charles the Great was clearly ended. The "Frankish" period of European history is passed: and insensibly one enters the "Feudal" period.

**33. *The feudal system.*** The "Feudal Age" is the term often used as synonymous with the "Middle Ages." As a matter of fact it includes only about the years 900 to 1300, when the power of the kings and the "nation" was weak, and what we may call "the feudal nobility" was strong.

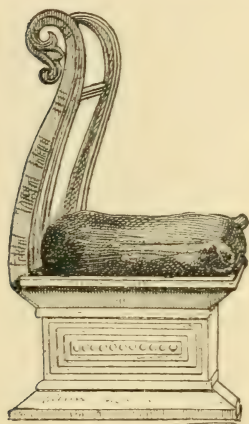
The origins of feudalism can be traced back to old Rome and to old German times, before the great invasions. There were plenty of tokens of "feudal conditions" in Charlemagne's day. But what really brought the feudal régime to pass was the direful weakening of the Government under his unhappy successors: and **the need which men felt for some system of society which would guard against the worst kind of anarchy.**

By 900, the power of the kings who inherited the fragments of Charlemagne's Empire had sunk low, indeed. Even if they had been wise and well-intentioned monarchs, the entire spirit

<sup>1</sup> "Lotharii Regnum." The name "Lorraine" seems especially to have attached itself to the northern part of the strip, which was also ruled over later by Lothair II, son of Lothair I.



of the age prevented the successful exertion of their authority. Many causes, long operating, tended to substitute for what we may call the normal *political* society, in which all men are fellow members of a great nation, a new order commonly called "feudalism." Feudalism is extremely difficult to define in a few words, but perhaps it is correct to say that it is a condition of things in which lawful authority is not based on the common allegiance of everybody to a central "government," but on



CHAIR

(Drawn from a miniature in a tenth-century manuscript)

a great number of special compacts, each between two persons, whereby the great "lord" becomes at once a kind of landlord, and also a high magistrate and war-chief over the lesser "vassal." In the Middle Ages the question would not be so much, "Of what nation are you?" as, "Of what lord do you hold your lands?" The manner in which that question was answered settled the social and political status of an individual. Of all the causes contributing to the growth of feudalism, the most general was the fact that kings and other magnates would grant away the

lands whereof they were possessed in return for military service.<sup>1</sup> At first this "leasing" (as modern men would say) was temporary: it ceased when the very peculiar "rent" (military service and certain financial assistance) was not duly paid and when either the landlord (suzerain) or tenant (vassal) died. But as the king's power weakened, and as long

<sup>1</sup> Along with the mere private control of the land would usually go various kinds of "immunity" — e.g., exemption from royal jurisdiction over the land, or the collection of royal taxes within the land. The new "vassal" would thus enjoy the jurisdiction over the lands granted him, conjoined often with its entire revenues.



occupancy of a "fief" (feudal holding) made the tenant feel that holding the fief was his *right*, not his privilege, the ties of vassalage became more and more permanent. **The king could not recall the fief if he would, except in extreme cases.** He was also obliged to confirm it to his late vassal's son or sons, or, if there were no son, to his daughter. During the breaking-up of Charlemagne's Empire the great vassals of the kingdoms forgot all but their most formal duties to their nominal overlord. They became independent princes in all but name, and it was seldom that "their lord the king" was able effectively to coerce them.

But these great vassals in turn were under necessity of seeing their own dominions parceled out among lesser princelets still; and these again might have dependent on them a swarm of petty nobles possessing only a fortified tower and a few bare acres. **The feudal system in fact caught in its tentacles practically the entire social fabric of the Middle Ages.** The bishops and abbots of the Church were usually feudal lords, with all the political and military rights and duties of the lay nobility over the ample estates of the Church.<sup>1</sup> The miserable lower classes, who had been held in various degrees of bondage during the Roman and Frankish periods, became adjuncts to the feudal system, as **villeins** of the lords; the humble and necessary supporters (serfs or not much better) of the dominant nobility.<sup>2</sup>

In this feudal régime there is no essential order or system. Theoretically every "nobleman"<sup>3</sup> owed allegiance to some overlord, and this overlord to some higher overlord, and so on

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one fourth to one fifth of all the lands of western Europe can be conceived to have been held by the Church during the Middle Ages. Still, although the Church was drawn thus into the feudal system, the Church itself never became really feudalized. Churchmen might *also* be feudal lords, but no bishop, for example, held his bishopric as the vassal of an archbishop.

<sup>2</sup> For the status of the non-nobles under the feudal régime, see p. 141.

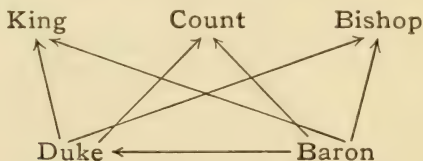
<sup>3</sup> That is, every person who held land or who had fair claims to hold land as a genuine vassal: in other words, about every person who was a stout fighter, and was not the son of a villein, and had not entered the Church.



in a regular sequence upward to the king. Actually the most extreme confusion reigned.<sup>1</sup> “**Organized anarchy**” feudalism has been called by a justly despairing scholar. Still, despite the confusion, there are certain lines of demarcation which characterize feudal institutions and conditions. Bearing these in mind will solve many problems.

(a) **As a rule**, the lowest feudal noblemen ranked as mere “**seigneurs**” (German, “**Ritters**”), possessors of a small castle with a few peasants depending. Above these would follow in a kind of order barons, viscounts, counts,<sup>2</sup> marquises, and dukes: at the head of all, of course, the king. A great abbot would probably rank as a viscount: a prince-bishop as a count, perhaps higher. There were, however, no fixed usages: e.g., in France certain counts were every whit as powerful as the dukes, while other counts might be doing homage for some of their lands to a baron or viscount.

(b) The prime obligations of the nobleman to his suzerain were (1) **homage**: to kneel down before him on proper occasions; to take his hands; to swear to execute the feudal duties; to do him no injury; and then, in compliance with his oath, (2) **to fight for him against his enemies** (this was the chief duty); to give him good counsel, especially to assist him in awarding justice; and on certain stipulated but rather rare



<sup>1</sup> This diagram gives a slight idea of the possibilities of complications under the feudal system. Note that the *baron* owes allegiance to the other four magnates. In case of a war between the king and the duke, or the count and the bishop, whom was he to support? — Matters might often be more complicated than this.

<sup>2</sup> In England the counts were styled “*earls*,” — although that was really an old Anglo-Saxon title. In Germany the corresponding title was “*Graf*.”



occasions to supply him with money. In return the suzerain would owe "his man" military protection against his enemies, fair play in any lawsuit, and must see to it that his children were not cheated out of their father's inheritance.

(c) The center of feudal life and action was ordinarily the nobleman's **castle**. Every regular fief possessed one; sometimes a mighty fortress, sometimes a petty tower.<sup>1</sup> In any case, however, the capture thereof was a slow and bloody business. Behind his good walls and with a few trusty retainers a very feeble baron could "make good his rights" against his suzerain, — so inefficient were the battering-engines of the day. These castles had sprung into being particularly to check the ravages of the Northmen, and other raiders: but everywhere they were multiplied, and became so many centers of political disintegration. Only starvation could reduce them as a rule, and their masters comported themselves as so many petty kings. They exercised the powers of "pit-and-gallows" (life and death) over their peasants; they coined money in their own name; they waged bloody warfare upon their neighbors in the next castle, or perhaps against the prince-abbot of the neighboring monastery. A rude sense of honor usually compelled them to execute their bare pledge to their suzerain, especially by giving the stipulated number of days of military service, but if an overlord was a wise man, he did not interfere in the internal management of his vassals' fiefs, or in their private quarrels. It was enough if they did their sworn duty to himself, and did not involve him in war with his neighbors: while he in turn (unless he were the king) was probably full of distrust toward *his* suzerain.

This, then, was the setting of mediæval society: — the masses of the toiling peasantry without political rights or standing; the barons in armor, riding rough-shod over the

<sup>1</sup> Of course, a fief sometimes consisted of a mere grant, say of market-dues or hunting privileges, but the normal type of a fief involved a land grant.



unprivileged unarmed multitude; and the enfeebled king often trembling before his own "vassals." Only of the terrible thunders of the Church had these feudal lords great awe.<sup>1</sup>

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Louis the Pious; Verdun; Northmen; Rollo; The Strassburg Oaths; Lorraine; Feudalism; Suzerain; Vassal; Immunity; Fief; Villein.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Fontenay; Verdun; Paris; Normandy.
  - (b) Mark the bounds according to the division of 843.
3. What were the real causes for the dissolution of the Empire.
4. What do you consider the really important dates for the "Frankish period" of European history (from Clovis to the final division of the Empire).
5. What conditions would tend to prevent the Kingdom of Lothair (843) from being a permanent one?
6. Why did feudalism develop in the ninth and tenth centuries?
7. What was the position of the Church in the feudal system?
8. What were the obligations of the suzerain and of the vassal?

### EXERCISES

1. The Northmen.
2. Extent of the Norse raids.
3. The Strassburg oaths and their significance.
4. The siege of Paris.
5. The importance of the foundation of the Duchy of Normandy.
6. The beginnings of feudalism under Charlemagne.
7. The essential elements of feudalism — vassalage, benefice, and immunity.
8. The ceremony of rendering homage and fealty.

### READING

- THE EMPIRE** — *Sources*. Ogg: chapter x. Robinson: nos. 65-71.  
*Modern Accounts*. Emerton: *Mediæval Europe*, pp. 13-40.  
 Seignobos: pp. 148-49. Bémont and Monod: pp. 211-45. Duruy: pp. 86-104. Pattison: pp. 39-57.
- FEUDALISM** — *Sources*. Ogg: chapter XIII, pp. 34-38. Robinson: nos. 72-90.  
*Modern Accounts*. Emerton: Introduction, pp. 236-55.  
 Bémont and Monod: pp. 246-54.

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<sup>1</sup> Feudal society and the organization of feudal countries are extremely hard to define without going into many technical details. A clearer idea of the age and its so-called civilization will be gained after reading chapter XII.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN GERMANY AND ITALY (TO 1056)

34. *The origins of the Kingdom of Germany.* Out of the ruins of Charlemagne's Empire were born two nations that bear themselves proudly in modern times — Germany and France. Of these **Germany**, the eastern fragment of the old Frankish dominions, **developed first**, and displayed a noble promise of becoming the dominant power of Europe: nay, for a while bade fair to restore the Empire of Charlemagne. The attempt failed, but it was a magnificent failure, full of notable events and significant for later history. The annals of Germany as apart from those of East Frankland begin with Henry the Fowler (919-36). It is needful to see over what manner of realm he ruled.

By 900, the future Germany seemed dissolved into a number of great territorial units which represented something more than merely feudal states, however much the feudal system may have penetrated them.<sup>1</sup> **Stem-duchies** these great divisions are usually called. Each had its own dialect, social customs, code of laws, and local pride. The inhabitants would probably be much more devoted to their own mighty duke than to the "king," who might come from some distant duchy with which they had held long rivalry. Saxony with Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine are units to be borne in mind all through the study of German history. Usually the elective king of Germany would be the duke of one

<sup>1</sup> Generally considered, the feudal system gained a little less complete control of Germany than of France, in which feudal conditions reached their fullest development. Italy, too, was never as much feudalized as France.



of these duchies in his own right. If he were able to win the hearty support of *two* other dukes, he could probably coerce the remainder, for Thuringia was too small to have an independent policy and usually went with Saxony. To bring even three duchies heartily into line, however, was often a weary task even for a very energetic monarch.

**The kingship of Germany was elective**, like almost all mediæval kingships.<sup>1</sup> Originally nearly all the higher nobles and prince-bishops of the land seem to have felt entitled to have a part in the "Diets," — assemblies to choose the new sovereign or transact other business of state. Only very gradually was the number of "electors" limited and their strict procedure fixed. After perhaps a tumultuous mass meeting, while the "Aye! Aye!" of the supporters of the victorious candidate was resounding, the defeated faction would retire to consider whether it were wise to contest the election — not with ballots but with swords.

While there was a certain amount of fellow feeling among these former East Franks, as against the incipient Frenchmen west of the Rhine, nevertheless the divisions and local differences amongst them were great. To make Germany into a well-compacted nation was the task of nearly ten centuries.

**35. Henry the Fowler (919-36).** The last legitimate Carolingian ceased to reign in Germany in 887. From that time until 919 the land was in a state of practical chaos. The kings had little control over the "stem-dukes," the petty nobles waged ceaseless and pitiless war one upon the other, and the country was terribly harried by the Northmen descending from Scandinavia, and by the still more cruel **Magyar**

<sup>1</sup> Usually in Germany the reigning monarch could use his influence to get his son elected co-king in his lifetime. On the death of the old king, the young king would step into full power. But often there would be no available prince suitable or acceptable for election. The nobility were intensely jealous of the growth of royal power. Sometimes a relatively weak and ineffective man would be chosen — that he might not become a really masterful sovereign.



hordes, issuing, on their wiry horses, from the plains of Hungary, to burn and pillage.

Either the country must have a king who could command the allegiance of the dukes, could enforce peace upon the nobles



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN GERMANY AND ITALY TO 1056

and fling back the invaders, or Germany would relapse into its primitive barbarism. Such a king appeared in the person of Henry the Fowler.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He gained his name from the tradition that he was returning from hawking when the messenger came to announce the tidings of his selection.



Henry the Fowler was a mature and tried ruler when a large faction of the princes rallied around him. He was already duke of the most powerful single stem-duchy, — Saxony, — and he could command the ready allegiance of Franconia and Thuringia. Thus fortified, he was able to coerce successively Swabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine, either making their dukes submit themselves loyally, or (in the case of Lorraine) replacing the old ruler with one more trustworthy. So some kind of law and order was presently restored to the troubled land from *within*, and Henry was able to deal manfully with the terrible enemy *beyond*, the borders.

The ravages of the Northmen were ceasing, but the Magyars remained as a direful scourge. This race of semi-Tartar nomads, akin, perhaps, to the old Huns of Attila, had recently encamped themselves on the fertile plains of the Danube, and now were harrying the whole length and breadth of Germany. Repeatedly they had defeated large German armies in battle. To check their devastations, Henry resorted to measures not spectacular but effective. Pocketing his pride, he purchased a nine-years' truce from the Magyars (924-33), and during the interval devoted himself, first, to **developing a cavalry force** (the Germans had been hitherto almost exclusively an infantry folk), without which the mounted barbarians could hardly be brought to bay; and, second, to **the building of castles and fortified towns of refuge** against which they might dash themselves in vain.<sup>1</sup>

In 933, when the truce expired, the Magyars, on being refused their tribute, swept into Saxony. Henry met them at the battle of the Unstrut, and they were totally defeated. For some time their power was broken, and Henry's policy was amply

<sup>1</sup> Henry gave a mighty impulse to the founding of *towns* in North Germany. Quedlinburg, Goslar, and Nordhausen, and other very old German cities were among his foundations. On his accession (barring a few old Roman towns, e.g., Mainz and Cologne on the Rhine) there was perhaps hardly a place of one thousand inhabitants in Germany.



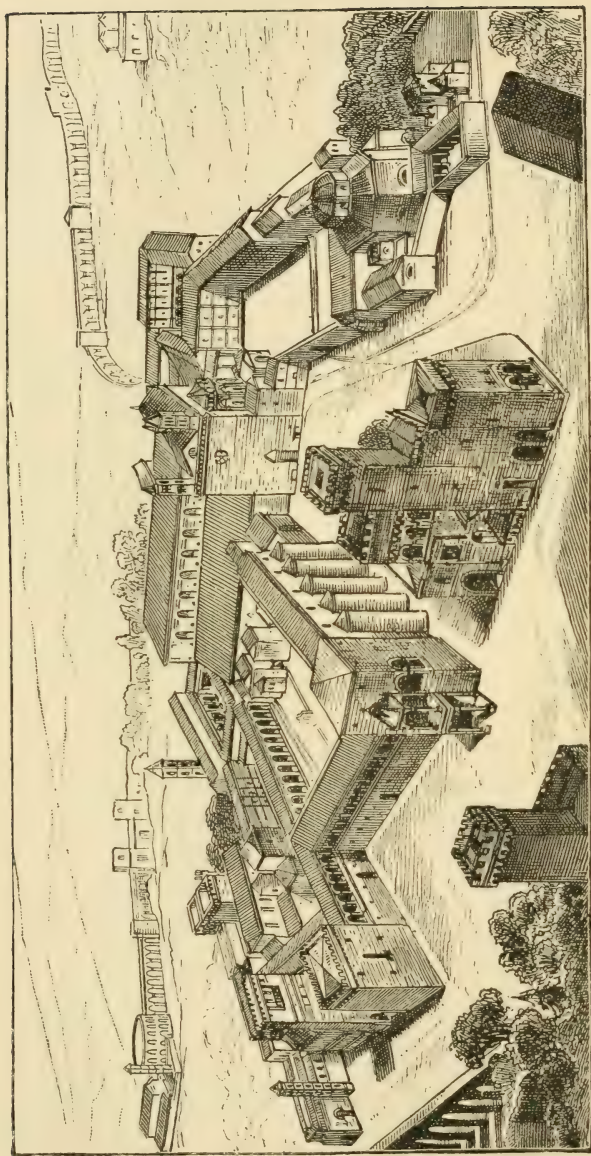
justified. Cautious, methodical, practical if never brilliant, Henry the Fowler was one of the prime builders of Germany.

**36. Otto I (936-73) — his power in Germany.** Henry was able to transmit his power to his son Otto I, a man of solid abilities equal to his father's, but more brilliant and more ambitious. The first years of his reign were consumed in struggles with his own Saxon kinsmen. In fact it was not till 954 that the last malcontents in Germany had been crushed and the stem-duchies and great prince-bishoprics put in the hands of faithful supporters of the monarchy. In 955, Otto gained new prestige by inflicting another great defeat upon the Magyars at the battle of the Lech (Bavaria), which ended their ravages for all time. During these earlier years of Otto, his good friend the Markgraf Hermann Billung had been pushing back the Slavic Wends to the east of Saxony from the country now around Berlin and adding new lands to Germany and to Christendom. By 961, Otto was in a position of such security and power that he could undertake a great expedition to Rome<sup>1</sup>—in search of nothing less than the imperial crown once worn by Charlemagne.

**37. Otto I — his revival of the Holy Roman Empire.** Italy was in a most evil state on the eve of his coming. The peninsula was torn asunder by a score of petty princelets. In the cities, usually ruled by a prince-bishop, there were still large survivals of the old Roman culture, but civilization seemed decaying even in these its last strongholds. **The Roman Papacy had never been in a worse plight.** The papal office was still held in great reverence throughout western Europe; but its very temporal importance made it the prey of utterly worldly and often immoral men, who usually gained power by support of an armed faction. When Otto undertook to march to Rome, the Papacy was held by John XII, a youth who had become Pope

<sup>1</sup> He had already (951) made a brief expedition over the Alps, and assumed the vague title, "King of the Lombards."





THE PALACE OF THE POPES AT THE LATERAN, ROME

(Restored to appear as it was early in the fourteenth century). In the distance are the city walls and the aqueduct of Claudius. In the right foreground is the Cælian Hill and the Church of St. Stefano Rotondo ; in the center, the palace ; in front of it, the house of the Arribaldi family. Among the palace buildings, notice : — in the background, the basilica with its twin towers, and, at its western door, a courtyard and campanile (or solitary tower) ; to the left, square towers, guarding the entrance to the papal apartments, and the galleries connecting the papal dwelling with the basilica and the great hall with its five buttresses, where the councils were accustomed to meet. Jutting out from this great hall, over the square, is the little balcony built by Boniface VIII, from which he used to bless the crowds.



when only sixteen, and who was, by universal testimony, incompetent and personally degraded. Had Otto failed to interfere in Rome at this time, in all probability the Papacy would have sunk so low in the world's esteem, that only a miracle could have restored its lost authority.<sup>1</sup>

In 961, Otto I descended the Alps, a mighty German army thundering at his heels and bearing down all opposition. The astonished Italians bent before the shock. At Pavia, Otto was crowned with the "Iron Crown" of Lombardy. He then pressed on to Rome. John XII negotiated with him and promised him fair. Otto entered the Eternal City, and on February 2, 962, like Charlemagne, he knelt before the Pope, under the eyes of the multitude, and arose "Imperator Augustus," "Lord of all the World." **The Holy Roman Empire had been revived** as an adjunct now of the German kingship.

Otto soon turned back toward the north, having no intention of taking permanent residence in Rome; but hardly was he departed ere tidings came that the slippery John XII was negotiating with the Emperor's enemies. Otto marched back on Rome, and found the Pope had already fled to the mountain fastnesses. Acting now in his capacity as Roman Emperor, — God's deputy to rule alike in Church and State, — Otto proceeded to put the absent Pope on trial. Abundant evidence was presented that John was a totally unfit pontiff, of iniquitous and unchurchly private life. Otto declared him deposed, and on his own authority appointed a successor (Leo VIII). After the Emperor left the city, the faction of John called the outlaw back, and it took still a third visit of Otto to make his appointee finally recognized.<sup>2</sup> From this time till his death (973), Otto was the unquestioned dominator both of Germany

<sup>1</sup> The desperate state of the Papacy at this time is freely conceded by Catholic writers: in fact, it is argued that only an institution ordained of God could have survived such a terrible period of humiliation.

<sup>2</sup> John was murdered in Rome in a private quarrel, ere Otto's return.



and Italy, and all-potent in the government of the Church. His reign ended in a great blaze of glory.

Otto had thus restored the Holy Roman Empire, and had taken drastic measures for the renovation of the Church. His Empire lacked, however, one great unit of Charlemagne's dominions — **France**; and he had brought about an unnatural

yoking of Italy and Germany, a union which wrought no real benefit to either.

38. *The Successors of Otto I* (973–1039). Otto I, or “The Great,” as he was not unjustly styled, was succeeded by his son and then by his grandson (**Otto II** and **Otto III**), but neither of these men, though not lacking ability, reigned long enough to do more than keep the power of the Saxon dynasty partially intact. The



AN EMPEROR (OTTO III)

(From a miniature in the Bamberg Evangel). The Emperor holds in one hand the scepter, crowned with the imperial eagle; in the other the orb, bearing a cross, the symbol of domination over the Christian world

death of **Henry II** (1024) (a distant nephew of Otto I) left the Saxon house without a suitable candidate for the throne; and the nobility of Germany chose Conrad II, who began the line known as the Franconian or Salian Emperors. During all this time the German monarchs had interfered intermittently in Italy, but never really effectively. The will-o'-the-wisp of a coronation at Rome and a great lordship in the South kept them from concentrating their efforts on Germany



and fairly crushing the feudal disintegration there. On the other hand, they could not impose their power on Italy completely enough to restore law, order, and prosperity to that troubled peninsula. Between Italians and Germans there was little sympathy: it was an anomaly, indeed, that the king elected by the Northern nobles should be calling himself "Holy Roman Emperor": but the German rulers never disowned this proud ambition, nor could the Italians resist them. The condition of the Church was still corrupt and worldly, and the Papacy was in no condition to resist the constant interference of the Emperors in its affairs: —the "rule of Christ by Cæsar," as was complained by angry but helpless churchmen.

**39. Henry III, the Pope-maker (1039–56).** The power of the Empire over the Church seemed at its height when, in 1046, Henry III, a valiant and worthy monarch, held a **synod at Sutri** (near Rome), at which three warring claimants to the Papacy were obliged to present themselves, and to allow him to pass upon their cases. All three would-be pontiffs were declared deposed,<sup>1</sup> and **Henry deliberately appointed a new Pope** even as he would a palace minister. For the rest of his



THE EMPEROR HENRY IV KNEELING BEFORE THE COUNTESS MATILDA AT CANOSSA IN 1077

(From a miniature in a biography of the countess, finished 1114, and now preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome)

<sup>1</sup> There seems little doubt that they were all very unfit men for a great spiritual office.



reign the Papacy was practically another great imperial office, and seemed likely to continue so for all time.<sup>1</sup> If this had come to pass, the German monarchs would have been Emperors, indeed, — controlling both Church and State.

But even in Henry's own time events were tending to undermine this power. Starting from a famous and sternly disciplined convent in South France — **Cluny** — a new spirit of righteousness had been sweeping over the Church. One of the very Popes named by Henry (Leo IX, 1048-54) was an ardent reformer who paved the way for a great revival of papal power in the next generation. When the Emperor died (1056) he seemed, however, to leave his six-year-old son (Henry IV) a solid lordship over Church and State. As a matter of fact the hold of this boy upon the secular government was to prove very precarious, and he was to lose his grasp on the Church almost entirely.

#### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Henry the Fowler; Stem-Duchy; Diet; Magyars; Otto the Great; John XII; The "rule of Christ by Cæsar"; Synod of Sutri; Leo IX; Cluny.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Hungary; Danube, Unstrut, and Lech rivers.
  - (b) Mark the stem-duchies; the marks.
  - (c) Mark the bounds of Otto's Empire. Compare it with Charlemagne's.
3. Note the interval between the conquest of the Saxons and the choice of a Saxon as King of Germany.
4. How were the kings chosen in Germany?
5. How did Henry prepare to defeat the Magyars? Compare with the defense of West Frankland against the Northmen as described in chapter VII.
6. Compare the coronations of Otto and Charlemagne as to circumstances and results.
7. What were Otto's relations with the Popes?
8. What seemed to be the tendency in Henry III's time as to the relative powers of the Emperor and the Pope?

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<sup>1</sup> For a long time the kings had been naming the great prince-bishops, and treating the Church offices as if they were so much valuable political patronage, to be given to worldly-minded adherents.



## EXERCISES

1. Describe the conditions in Italy during the period.
2. Why was the "yoking of Germany and Italy" an "unnatural" one?
3. The Popes of the tenth century.
4. What was the effect of Otto's coronation as Emperor upon the powers of the German kings in Germany?
5. The separation of the Greek and Latin churches.
6. The aims of the Cluny reform.

## READING

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter xv, section 42. Robinson: nos. 102-04, 106.

*Modern Accounts.* Emerton: *Mediæval Europe*, pp. 115-26; 141-43. Bémont and Monod: chapter xvii, pp. 345-46. Seignobos: pp. 95-97. Lewis: pp. 114-61. Pattison; pp. 58-68.



## CHAPTER IX

### THE RISE OF THE FRENCH KINGDOM

**40. *The founding of the Capetian monarchy.*** The eastern portion of Charlemagne's Empire rid itself of the rule of his unworthy descendants long before they ceased to reign in the West. This was partly because the later Carolingians in those regions were not so degenerate and exhausted as in the East, partly because in the western fraction of the old Empire there was no great local power to assume the leadership, as did the Saxon duchy in Germany. Yet in just a century after the deposition of Charles the Fat (the last ruler of the undivided Carolingian Empire), the reign of the Carolingian kings ceased also from over the West Franks (987). West Frankland or Neustria ended its annals. A new dynasty — the Capetian — arose, ruling a kingdom that speedily was known by a new name — France.

For at least a hundred years before they fairly displaced the Carolingians, the Capetian princes had been uncomfortable rivals or doubtful vassals. **Odo (or Eudes), Count of Paris**, one of the founders of the line, had distinguished himself by his gallant and successful defense of Paris against the Northmen (885). After the deposition of Charles the Fat he had been recognized as king by many of the nobles of Neustria, but the time was not ripe to do away with the old dynasty. During most of the troubled tenth century, kings of the ancient line held the dubious allegiance of the West Franks. Odo's descendants (the "Dukes of France," with their power centered at Paris) were among the chief of these weak sovereigns' unruly liegemen. The authority of the Carolingian kings continually waned. In 987, it had dwindled almost to a shadow. "Kings of



Laon" they were contemptuously called, for the one city over which they had firmest dominion. At length King Louis V died without direct issue. Rather than see the royal name pass to his German-bred kinsman, the nobles of Neustria hailed



FRANCE TO 1270

as overlord the greatest of their own number. **Hugh Capet, Duke of France (987-96), was proclaimed king.** His descendants were destined to reign in France until 1792.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are scions of this royal house living to-day, eager to claim the throne of France, if that great nation ever decides to abandon her present republic for a monarchy.



**41. *The mediæval Kingdom of France — its weakness.*** It was almost a tinsel crown which the Archbishop of Rheims (the first churchman of the realm) put on the head of Hugh Capet. To buy the support of the nobles he had been forced to make great concessions of land and authority. Nowhere was the feudal system, with its "organized anarchy," its system of great principalities and little baronies, more perfectly developed than in the country over which he was nominally the chief. Theoretically Hugh inherited the vast powers of Charlemagne; practically he was only the most honored among several hundred barons who called him "sovereign lord," more because they desired a check upon one another than because they wished to have any effective king over them. He possessed some real authority over his old "Duchy of France," the land immediately around Paris, known commonly as the "Royal Domain Lands."<sup>1</sup> Outside of this region he had practically no power. The great **Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Brittany** and the equally lordly **Counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Vermandois** could each put as many armed retainers in the field as he, and never hesitated to fight him when they harbored a grievance or an ambition. In the south of his nominal kingdom, the Duke of Aquitaine and the Count of Toulouse ruled over a folk who differed in language <sup>2</sup> and local customs from their northern neighbors, and usually did not trouble to give the king even outward homage. Besides these first named, a host of lesser counts, viscounts, and barons "ruled by the Grace of God," coined their own money, quarreled or made peace with one another, tyrannized over their subjects; in short, performed all the acts of petty sovereigns with practically no heed to the wishes of "their lord the king" at Paris.

<sup>1</sup> This whole territory was probably no larger than the small State of Massachusetts, and even within it were a good many barons who — secure in their castles — obeyed the king only intermittently.

<sup>2</sup> The "Languedoc" tongue of South France, as against the "Languedoil" of North France.



Under these circumstances the marvel is that the new dynasty of Capet ever built up an effective kingship; yet this was the case. Out of this feudal chaos arose the majestic monarchy of France; and to this end many factors contributed.

(a) While various barons were continually resisting the king, the scattered princes seldom could forget their own feuds enough to unite against him. He had the support of *some* vassals in almost every war.

(b) **The Capetian kings were highly fortunate in never lacking a direct heir down to 1328.** The reigning king could always present a son eligible for election by the nobles and coronation as co-king in his own lifetime.<sup>1</sup> There were no disputed successions, no wars within the royal family. Men became accustomed to the idea of a Capetian king as the one possible ruler of all France.

(c) While several of the Capetian kings were not conspicuously able, none was entirely unworthy to rule, and several (and those in the most critical years) were sovereigns of marked capacity.

(d) **The kings very early put themselves on friendly terms with the Church.** They avoided the great collisions with the Papacy which in the end ruined the rulers of Germany. The average feudal lord oppressed his neighboring bishop or abbot; the king would come to the latter's relief; the church repaid this protection by giving its own potent support to the king against his vassals.

(e) As time elapsed and the lower non-noble classes, especially the dwellers in the towns, strove for personal and local liberties, they found a champion in the king against their baronial lords. The king reaped his reward in the subsidies his

<sup>1</sup> Note that for long the monarchy in France, as in Germany, was theoretically elective, with the great nobles as the electors; but about 1200, it was so firmly understood that only a Capetian could succeed a Capetian, that the election itself became unimportant, and insensibly hereditary succession was established in its stead.



new subjects were glad to pay him; and money has always meant power.

(f) **While the Capetian Dynasty lasted, many feudal dynasties disappeared**; family feuds, local feuds, crusading warfare, and many other calamities carrying them off. The king claimed the vacant fiefs, and there were few able to gainsay him.

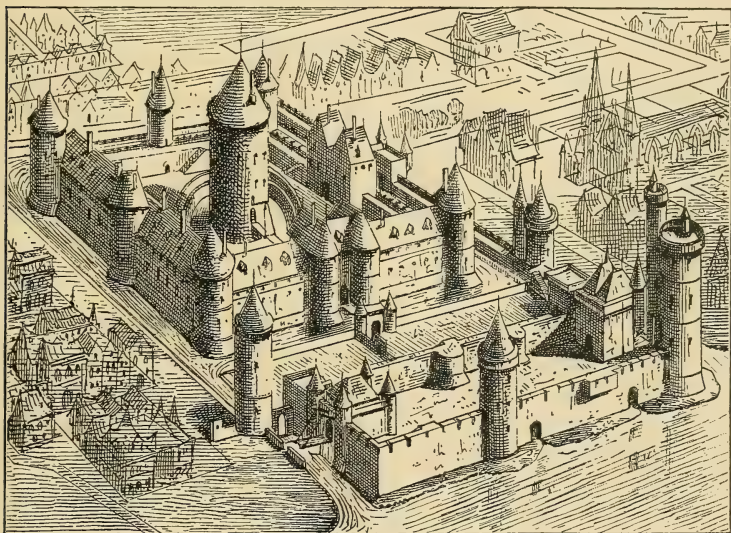
Thus from a dismal abyss the new French monarchy struggled upward to greatness.

**42. *The first phases of the monarchy.*** During the century following the accession of Hugh Capet the new kings barely held their own, with their authority seemingly little more than a shadow. Duke William of Normandy, after his conquest of England (1066), appeared a far more important and powerful personage than weak Philip I, who dwelt at Paris. In fact, the acquisition of the English kingdom by the mighty Norman princes might well forebode the moment when these duke-kings would either disavow their allegiance to France altogether, or else seek to displace the Capetians, as the latter had displaced the Carolingians. This moment, however, never came. The Norman kings of England had their own wars and troubles beyond the Channel. In France they did not lack jealous fellow-princes who supported the king against them. The Kings of France were too weak and preoccupied to take part in the earlier crusading movements, which were engrossing almost all the energies of France, but they at least kept their domain-land and their nominal prerogatives uninjured.

Early in the twelfth century there came to the throne a wise and energetic king, **Louis the Fat** (1108-37). There was nothing sluggish about him but his physique. With admirable firmness he crushed out the petty barons who defied his power near Paris, and gave his domain-land law, order, and a wise administration. This was the foundation for later development; but first the kingdom must pass through a sore ordeal in the days of the inefficient **Louis VII** (1137-80).



In 1154, Henry II became King of England. He was far more than that; by inheritance or marriage he was simultaneously Duke, or feudal Lord, of Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and many adjacent lands — i.e., of nearly two thirds of the great states of France. He was a man of remarkable ability and corresponding vigor. That such a ruler irked at doing homage for his great French holdings to the feeble ruler at Paris passed without saying. The natural thing to expect would be for him to try to unite his English and French lands into a single independent realm.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE LOUVRE AT THE TIME OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS  
(1180-1223)

(Restored.) The Louvre at this time was part palace, part fortress. It occupied roughly the space of the great court of the Louvre of to-day. Of the building here shown only a few fragments of wall and the foundations now remain.

43. *Philip Augustus, maker of France.* Again the good fortune of the Capetians saved them. Henry had his heavy troubles with his English subjects. His own sons also raised war against him, and always found refuge and help awaiting



them at Paris. His lesser barons had their turn at revolting. In 1180, there came to the throne of France the man who was to see the ruin of Henry and his empire. **Philip Augustus (1180-1223) was perhaps the ablest monarch of the whole French line.** Admirable his character was not. He was cold, sly, tortuous, unscrupulous. He was no mean warrior, but he preferred to conquer by intrigue. No great leader ever combined the fox and the lion more successfully than he. During the first part of his reign he artfully hindered every attempt of the English-Norman princes<sup>1</sup> to destroy his frail monarchy; in the second part he turned and rent them.

So long as Henry II of England lived, the best that Philip could do was to support his rival's undutiful sons against their father, and keep his own dominions intact; but in 1189, Henry died, leaving his vast but scattered possessions to his son, Richard the Lion-Hearted, a mighty champion in all knightly warfare, and withal a very competent general after the rough-and-ready mediæval sort, but by no means a great statesman. In company with Philip, Richard went on the Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem. The two kings set forth as friends, but soon drifted asunder, and quarreled bitterly. Philip promptly came back to France, leaving his rival in Palestine, and busied himself undermining Richard's authority among his vassals. After long delays the valorous crusader returned,<sup>2</sup> and in his lifetime Philip made little headway in his warfare, but in 1199, Richard was slain before a South-French castle, and his power passed to his worthless and incompetent brother John, who soon drove his English subjects into revolt by his tyranny, and had little means or energy left to resist Philip in his French dominions.

<sup>1</sup> Henry II and his immediate successors are often called the "Angevin Princes" in the histories, having derived their origin from the County of Anjou.

<sup>2</sup> Richard was captured and held prisoner, while en route homeward, by Duke Leopold of Austria, his enemy, and only released upon a heavy ransom. All this, of course, greatly aided Philip.



Now was the Capetian's opportunity; and he used it valiantly. John's crimes toward members of his own family had alienated most of his French vassals and former supporters. Philip was able to besiege the great fortress called Château Gaillard, the key to all Normandy, and its capture (1204) was followed by **the submission of all of the old Norman duchy.** John's lands to the southward were mostly overrun with surprising ease; and the wide dominion of Henry II crumbled away in a very few years.

One last effort, indeed, John made. In 1214, he induced an army of his allies, the Princes of Flanders and many German knights, led by their Emperor Otto IV, to attempt a formidable invasion of France from the North. But Philip's successes had awakened a great burst of national feeling and of personal loyalty among the French.<sup>1</sup> He called to his subjects for help and not in vain. Barons and city-folk united



A KING'S DEATHBED

Bishops and abbots attending. (*From a twelfth-century manuscript*)

under their king to beat back the invader. At **Bouvines** (1214) Philip won a truly memorable battle over the Germans, and the foreign peril passed. His reign ended (1223) with the Capetian power ascendant and expanding.

**44. St. Louis confirms the French monarchy.** Under Louis IX, better known as St. Louis (1226-70), the work of Philip

<sup>1</sup> Philip, as an organizer of the lands he had won, was no less great than as a conqueror. He was able finally to command the whole resources of his realm, as had almost no monarch since Charlemagne.



**was confirmed and strengthened.** St. Louis was one of the most admirable characters produced by the Middle Ages. He was possessed of all the piety and semi-monkish virtues so admired at the time, and has been justly canonized by the Church. He went on two unsuccessful crusades, in which he displayed exceedingly poor generalship, but at home it was



LOUIS IX OF FRANCE  
(Painted on glass in the Cathedral  
of Chartres, France)

otherwise. In France he was a highly effective ruler, often hiding the iron hand under the velvet glove; making the high barons deal justly with their own under-vassals, discouraging the barbarous "wager of battle," and often substituting his own more righteous "royal jurisdiction" for the feeble and frequently perverted law-courts maintained by the nobility. He kept practically all the lands acquired by Philip and added to them; but above all, he established conditions akin to genuine law, order, and justice throughout their length. During a long reign

men were taught to love their king as the true model of all knightly and princely, as well as churchly, qualities. The same ruler who piously and tenderly distributed bread each morning to the poor before his palace gate, was stern justice incarnate when it came to insisting on his kingly rights as against malcontent barons and prince-bishops. His position as a man of surpassing piety was such that Popes listened humbly to his lecturings upon their shortcomings. The moral value of such a reign, of "a great king ruling in righteousness," was incalculable. "Sons of St. Louis" his successors proudly called themselves. And in addition to the religious prestige



thus acquired, there came remarkable advantage to the monarchy from the fact that St. Louis was a really constructive statesman. In his day was fairly organized the "Parliament of Paris" — the highest court of France, while the scientific law codes of the old Roman Empire in part displaced the old "customs" of feudalism, with their premium on confusion and misrule. In short St. Louis rendered his kingdom a service which most happily completed the consolidating process begun by Philip, his grandfather.

In 1180, the Capetian monarchy had seemed on the verge of destruction. In 1270, it controlled a great dominion, with large revenues, a great corps of royal officers, and a complicated system of government and administration. Its kings had won the loyalty of their people by their public and private virtues, and by the blessings of the good government which they had conferred. France was no longer a confederation of feudal states with a nominal overlord. It was a powerful nation; the first true nation (in the modern sense) to appear in Europe.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Capetian; Odo; Dukes of France; "Kings of Laon"; Hugh Capet; Louis the Fat; Henry II; Philip Augustus; St. Louis.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Bouvines; Château Gaillard; Paris; Rheims.
  - (b) Mark the regions of the great fiefs.
  - (c) Mark the lands taken by Philip Augustus from the English kings.
  - (d) Mark the lands still held by England in 1270.
3. What was the theory as to the choice of the French king? of the German? of the English?
4. How much real power did Hugh Capet have?
5. Why should there have been any difference in language and custom between North and South France?
6. What factors contributed to strengthen the French monarchy.
7. Why could the French kings more easily than the German kings avoid "great collisions with the Papacy"?



8. What dangers threatened the Capetian kings up to the time of Philip II? How were the dangers avoided?
9. The battle of Bouvines is sometimes called the "first great international battle." Why? Show its importance.
10. Summarize the work of St. Louis.
11. Compare the position of Hugh Capet as king with that of St. Louis.

### EXERCISES

1. The siege of Paris (885).
2. Compare the displacing of the Merovings by the Carolings with the displacing of the latter by the Capetians.
3. Under such circumstances as described in section 41, what was the use in having a king?
4. Note that in France the lower classes unite with the king against the nobles. What was the case in England? Account for the difference. What are the results likely to be in both countries?
5. Philip II as an organizer of his lands.
6. The character of St. Louis.

### READING

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter x, section 29; chapter xix. Robinson: nos. 91-95. *Modern Accounts.* Emerton: pp. 413-22. Bémont and Monod: pp. 390-444. Seignobos: pp. 120-25. Duruy: pp. 105-10; 139-65. Pattison: pp. 91-113.



## CHAPTER X

### THE CRUSADES

45. *Origin of the crusades.* The year 1000 roughly marked the end of the long period of depression under which the civilized life of Europe had been laboring. There is no magical significance in the date as historians once assumed, but from this time onward the conditions of the peoples become steadily more tolerable, there is more humanity, more intellectual activity, less ignorance, and less feudal chaos. The power of the Church — at one time the only real influence for good — in the early Middle Ages is supplemented by the rise of new forces. The feudal states begin to group themselves into modern nations. Particularly, as we have just seen (chapter ix), one portion of Europe “finds itself,” as a proud, patriotic kingdom, with a history and a destiny all its own. And in the making of this nation of France the crusades played no small part.

The “**crusades**” are, of course, a series of armed expeditions conducted by the Christians of Europe against the Moslems for the purpose of delivering Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the unbeliever. They would probably have come earlier, but for two reasons which postponed them until the end of the eleventh century: (a) Until that time the Christians had been too disunited and weak for any great concerted military effort. (b) The Arab “caliphs” in their government of Palestine had for long treated the Christian pilgrims thither with such tolerance that the latter had no very just grievances against them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of course, at no time did the Christians fail to consider it utterly deplorable that the Holy Land should rest in the power of the Infidels.



By about 1090, however, conditions were changed, and a combination of causes sent the warriors of Christendom, particularly those of France, on an expedition which makes the earlier efforts of feudal armies sink into insignificance. Some of these causes were: —

(a) The conscience of the age was quickening, as men grew morally better. For centuries pilgrims had gone in steadily increasing numbers (e.g., a company of seven thousand in 1064) to the holy places, impelled by pure religious devotion, or seeking to be healed of disease, or to do penance. Nobles and peasants convicted of a sense of sin understood no surer way of expiation than a pilgrimage to the Saviour's tomb.

(b) In feudal countries peace and order were beginning to prevail to the extent that battle-loving spirits found a lack of activity at home. France was overcrowded. There were new fields for adventure and new lands to be won in the campaign against the infidel.

(c) The relatively refined and tolerant Arab rulers of Palestine had been supplanted by the barbarous and intolerant Turks, who displayed their fanatical devotion to Islam by cruelties practiced upon Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem. Honest wrath at these cruelties and a desire for vengeance sent many a Western knight upon the Holy War.

(d) The Papacy was quite conscious of its newly gained power, and anxious to earn the prestige of leading a great movement of all Christendom for an object accounted exceptionally pleasing to Heaven.

(e) **The Mohammedans were threatening Christian Europe again.** In Spain, the Christians had been defeated in the great battle of Zalacca (1087); in the East, the Seljuk Turks were pressing the Empire so hard that the Emperor Alexius I asked the Pope for aid. This appeal was the immediate occasion of the crusades.

46. *The preaching at Clermont.* These were some of the



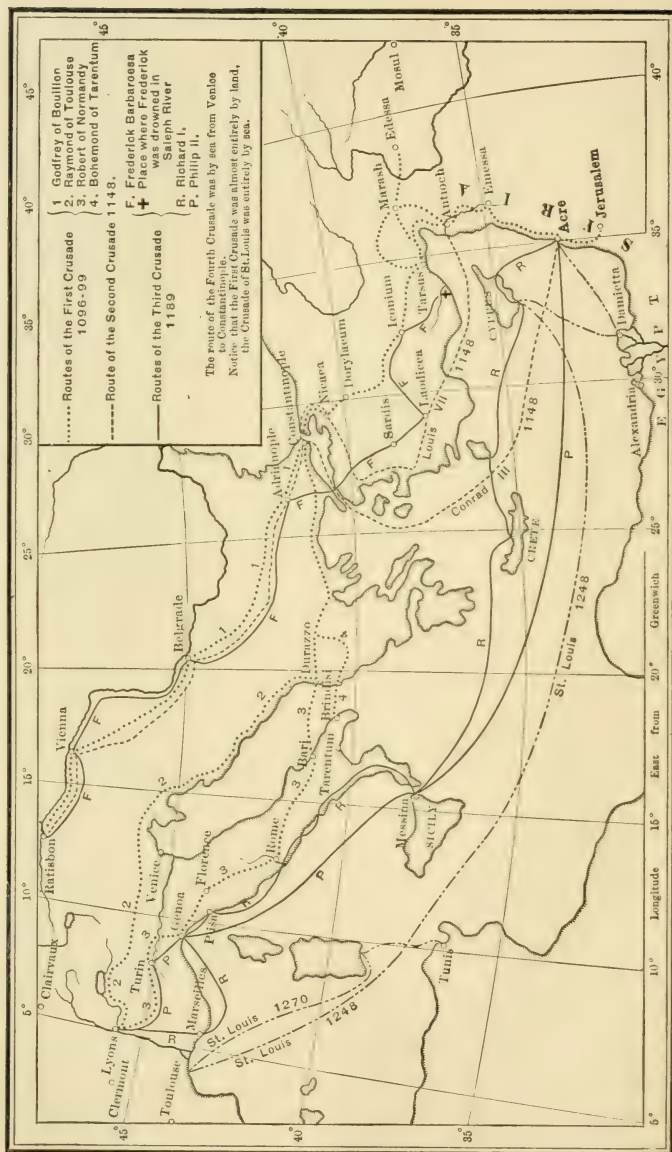
motives which were latent or active in men's minds when, in 1095, **Pope Urban II** quitted Italy to hold a **Church Council at Clermont**, near the center of France. Already there were clear rumors that more was intended at the gathering than the mere transaction of ecclesiastical business. A great concourse of warriors and noblemen attended the council. With ringing eloquence the Pope<sup>1</sup> set forth the desolation of the Holy Land, the abominable tyranny of the Turks over the Eastern Empire, and the opportunity for his hearers to expiate their own sins by a holy war against the infidel. A thunderous shout, "**God wills it!**" answered him. There was a general demand for "red crosses" to wear upon the breast, as token of being pledged to the "crusade." From Clermont the enthusiasm spread over France like wildfire. Stirring preachers, whereof the most notable was Peter the Hermit, set all France, peasant and noble, to arming. It was the old gospel of Mohammed recast in a Christian guise; — pardon for sin and the spoils of the infidel if victorious! — a swift road to heaven if slain in the battle! Possessed with this hope and enthusiasm, armies to be reckoned by the hundreds of thousands were launched upon the East.

**47. *The leaders of the First Crusade.*** Some disorderly multitudes of peasants, who drifted to Constantinople and soon were slain by the Turks of Asia Minor, were the precursors of four great armies of well-equipped knights and infantrymen, who during 1096 were making their way across Europe to Constantinople. The crusaders lacked a single chief, — no king went on this crusade, — but among the swarm of lordly barons who went on the campaign, four great leaders were generally acknowledged.

(a) **Godfrey of Bouillon**, Duke of Lorraine, considered by

<sup>1</sup> Urban was himself a Frenchman, one of the best Popes of his age, and well able to appeal to the gallant instincts of his countrymen. The crusaders were assured of extraordinary spiritual benefits and remission of sins while indulging in the very thing the fierce barons loved the best, — brisk fighting.





## THE CRUSADES



some to have been the ablest and most genuinely devout of these chieftains.

(b) **Robert of Normandy**, son of William the Conqueror, a prince very brave in battle, but very inept elsewhere.

(c) **Raymond, Count of Toulouse**, a pious but haughty man, leader of a great host of the South French.

(d) **Bohemond of Tarentum**, leader of those Normans who had recently conquered southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>1</sup> He had marked courage and skill, but was utterly self-seeking and of inferior moral stuff.

Behind these leaders went a countless host of all sorts and conditions of Frenchmen, — great barons, petty nobles, peasants, priests, monks, — even women. Possibly 300,000 souls started on the expedition, though there were by no means so many trained warriors. Discipline was direfully lax; the arrangements of the commissariat abominable. Probably nothing was understood of camp sanitation in Oriental countries. The leaders knew very little of strategy; but the personal valor of the crusaders was superb. Christian fanaticism was to strike Moslem fanaticism; and for the moment the latter was to give way.

**48. *The crusaders reach the East.*** After weary marches by devious routes these armies concentrated at Constantinople. Their coming was hardly welcome to Alexius, the Greek Emperor, although he had appealed to the Pope for aid against the Turks that were harrying his own dominions. He had not, however, expected such a horde of importunate Westerners, who seemed quite willing to begin the work of slaying infidels by first plundering the rich capital of the Greek Christians, with whom they had little sympathy. But delicate handling induced the crusaders to cross into Asia, there to confront the

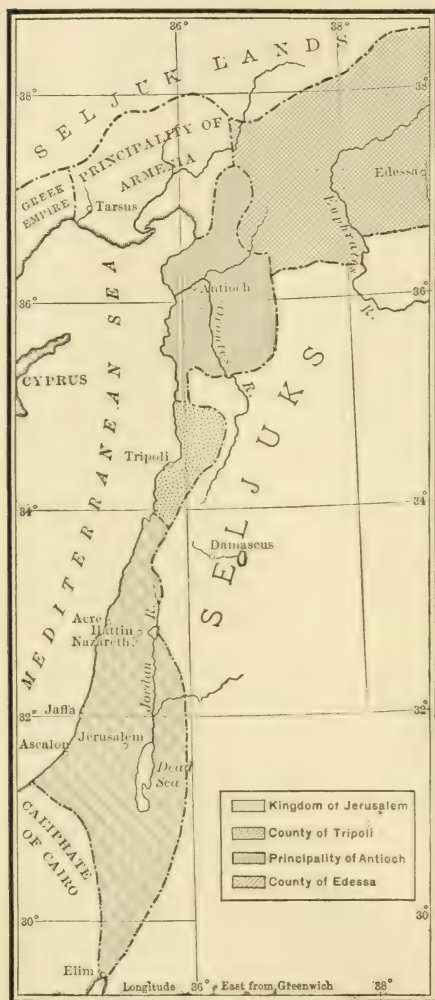
<sup>1</sup> He led the only important contingent on this crusade which did not come from France, or at least from lands near France. And even he and his men probably called Norman-French their mother tongue.



Moslem in real earnest. The Turkish Sultan of Asia Minor tried to halt their progress. At **Dorylæum** (1097) in a great

battle the Christians taught the enemy that, with anything like a fair field and even numbers, the mailed Western knights could scatter the light-armed Turkish horsemen with terrible proficiency. The crusaders were left after their victory to struggle onward, across the deserts of southeastern Asia Minor, fighting the more dangerous enemies of hunger and thirst. Presently they halted before the great city of Antioch, the key of northern Syria, the capture whereof seemed absolutely necessary ere pushing on to Jerusalem.

**49. The sieges of Antioch.** Antioch was strongly fortified, and held by a courageous Turkish emir with a stout garrison. The crusaders had great



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difficulty in pressing the siege, and for a while were in



danger of breaking up in despair. Then Bohemond found a traitor within the walls; a tower was betrayed, the city taken; — but in the orgy following the capture the Christians became completely demoralized. Before they had recovered discipline, a terrible danger confronted them. Kerbogha, emir of Mossul, at the head of a vast army of allied Turks, fell on them, and drove them to take refuge behind the very city walls they had just won from the enemy. In the previous siege and sack all the provisions had been consumed, and soon the whole Christian host was starving. They even negotiated with Kerbogha, — offering to abandon the crusade, — but he would grant no tolerable terms, believing them utterly in his power. In their agony a miracle seemed necessary to save them, and **the equivalent of a miracle came** when it was announced by the leaders that the “**Holy Lance**”<sup>1</sup> had been discovered, buried under the altar of one of the Antioch churches. Heartened by this talisman, the famishing Christians issued from Antioch and gave battle to the Turks. Fanaticism and desperation worked together to make the crusaders fight as never before. Despite the fact that nearly all their horses had perished in the siege, and that the French knights had to charge as footmen, Kerbogha’s host was utterly routed. With such a warning it was some time ere the Turks dared join battle with these terrible “Franks” again.

**50. *The taking of Jerusalem.*** It was the spring of 1099 before the Christians could fairly start southward from Antioch on their last great march to Jerusalem. Perhaps not more than thirty thousand fighting men were left; but a good army is like the fabled serpent; its head dies last. These warriors were the best of the whole expedition. They found Jerusalem held not by Turks but by the generals of the

<sup>1</sup> Wherewith the Roman soldier is said to have pierced the Saviour’s side. After the danger was passed, most of the crusaders became convinced that the miracle was spurious, but it had entirely accomplished its purpose.



caliph of Egypt, with a garrison greater than the whole crusading army. The Egyptians, however, were none the less infidels, and desperate fighting was still called for; but after the experience at Antioch, the Christians were capable of everything. On July 15, 1099, after two days of reckless and bloody attack, **the Holy City was stormed**. The crusaders showed their "piety" by a terrible massacre of the Moham-medans within the walls. In Solomon's Temple, "our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses," wrote one of the conquerors. While the massacre still lasted, anxious "to thank God for their victory," Godfrey and his peers hastened to pray at the Holy Sepulcher. The First Crusade had succeeded.

51. *The Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem.* Thus came into being the mediæval **Kingdom of Jerusalem**, with various dependent principalities. It embraced the old Palestine of the Jews plus a narrow strip northward along the Syrian coast up to and including Antioch. It was a feudal state organized on the model of France, with its ruling population made up of barons of the regular mediæval type, who had lost none of their belligerent Norman, Flemish, or South French propensities because they had "taken the Cross" and emigrated to the Holy Land. These barons owed very wavering allegiance to the "king"<sup>1</sup> they had set up in Jerusalem. There were several semi-independent outlying principalities, — e.g., those of the Counts of Tripoli, and the Princes of Antioch, — and of various lesser barons who ruled their castles with scant heed of their nominal overlord at Jerusalem. The lower population was made up of native Syrian Christians, of a certain number of Moslems to whom a grudging toleration was extended, and

<sup>1</sup> Godfrey of Bouillon, the first sovereign of Jerusalem, took only the title of "Baron of the Holy Sepulcher" — refusing to be called "king" where his Saviour had been crucified; his less modest successors accepted the royal title. His reign and the next one following were taken up in the conquest of most of Palestine.



divers European pilgrims of the baser sort who were induced to settle in Palestine. This kingdom, then, was a hybrid in the East; a European colony in a hostile Asiatic environment, differing utterly in laws, customs, religion, from the nations adjoining. It speaks highly for the valor and ability of the crusaders that they were able to hold Jerusalem for eighty-eight years.

Various reasons enabled the Christians to do this:—

(a) **The great personal valor of the Western knights**, who repeatedly, with inferior numbers, outmatched the huge armies of the lightly armed and ill-disciplined Moslems.

(b) **The divisions of the Mohammedans among themselves**. The Arabs were at strife with the Turks; the Egyptians with the Syrians. Down to 1140, the Orientals could hardly unite against the European invader.

(c) **The constant influx of pilgrims to Palestine from Europe**, who, now that the way had been opened, came in considerable numbers, and were glad to join military exploits against the infidel with acts of piety at the Holy Places. Very important help, too, came from the rising commercial cities of Venice and Genoa, that found in Christian Palestine a great center for their trade.

(d) **The great strength of the castles erected by the Christians in Palestine**. Some of these castles, held by the feudal barons, were marvels of the military art of the time, and could defy vast armies, though held by only small garrisons.



BATTLE BETWEEN CRUSADERS AND SARACENS

*(From a stained-glass window in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, now destroyed. After Montfaucon)*



(e) **The development of the military orders of monks** (especially the "Knights of the Hospital" and the "Knights of the Temple"), who, to most of the usual monkish vows, added the duty — very congenial in the Middle Ages — of fighting the unbeliever. These valorous monks were mighty helpers to the hard-pressed Kings of Jerusalem.

52. *The later crusades.* The First Crusade had founded the



MILITARY AND CIVIL COSTUME IN THE TIME  
OF RICHARD I

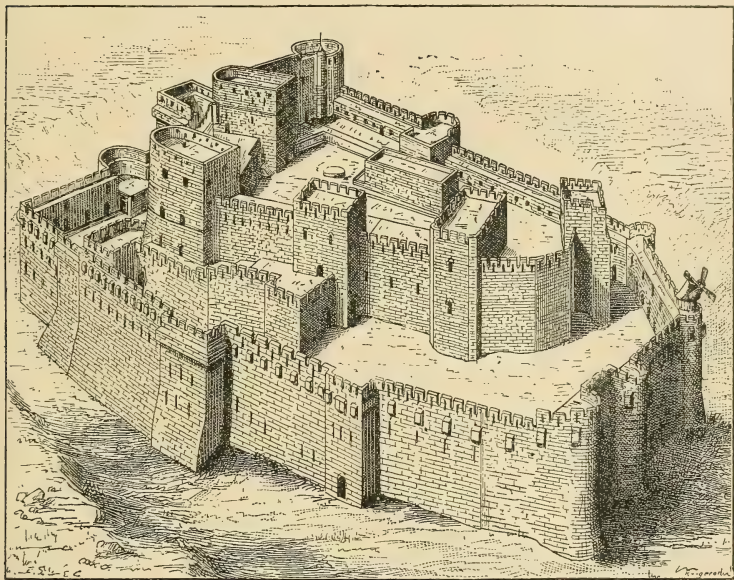
kingdom, but ere half a century had passed (1144) the Moslems regained Edessa, a strong town that had protected the Christians of northern Syria. The rulers of Jerusalem trembled for their safety and besought help from Europe. St. Bernard of Clairvaux (the greatest churchman of his age) preached the **Second Crusade**. The

Kings of France and Germany headed the great expedition, but it was a sorry failure. Bad strategy, ignorance of the best routes, and general incompetence destroyed most of the army on the way. The remnant accomplished nothing in Palestine. The Moslems continued to grow in power almost unchecked.

In 1187, came the catastrophe which had been impending. The Mohammedans were united under a wise and energetic ruler, the famous **Saladin**. Near old Nazareth, in Galilee, he defeated and took prisoner Guy, King of Jerusalem. **The Holy City itself was forced to capitulate.** Europe was horrified to hear that the Sacred Places were again polluted by the infidel.



Again the crusade (**Third Crusade**) was preached, and kings and barons responded. Frederick Barbarossa of Germany led a great host to the East, and might have accomplished much (he was a skilled and respected general), but he was drowned accidentally in Cilicia. **Richard the Lion-Hearted** of England reached Palestine and won notable successes against Saladin. He recaptured Acre (the port of Palestine, and next to Jerusa-



THE CASTLE OF KRAK, SYRIA

(*Restored ; after Rey.*) This fortress was erected by the Hospitalers at the beginning of the thirteenth century, on a height dominating the pass between the Orontes valley and the Mediterranean basin.

lem its chief city) and displayed his knightly valor in a manner which struck terror into the Moslem.<sup>1</sup> But his quarrels with King Philip Augustus of France hampered his efforts to retake Jerusalem. In 1192, he sadly made peace with Saladin and departed from the East. The Christians had not won back the

<sup>1</sup> It was said that for many years the Turkish women would name Richard as a bogey-man wherewith to frighten their disobedient children.



Holy City, but they still held a long, thin strip of the coast of Syria from Cilicia down to Egypt, and men hoped for yet another crusade that would undo the disastrous battle near Nazareth.

Such a triumph never came. Once more a crusade (commonly called the **Fourth Crusade**) was preached in 1202, and might have accomplished much had not the Venetians<sup>1</sup> in an evil hour persuaded the princely leaders to attack Constantinople in the interest of certain claimants to the throne of the now feeble Greek Empire. This attempt ended in **the actual seizure of the throne of Constantinople (1204) by a Western prince** (Count Baldwin of Flanders), the plunder of the magnificent and wealthy city by the invading harpies, — who thus eternally defiled their pretensions to piety, — and the diversion of the great trade of Constantinople to Venice, an object the canny merchants of that city had always kept in view. A blow was given the old East Roman or Greek Empire by this foul shock, from which it never truly recovered; but the Western Latins were not able to retain their grip on the famous capital. In 1261, the Greeks had regained enough energy to eject the successors of the crusaders, and restore — in a very tottering manner — their empire. The whole issue of the Fourth Crusade was, then, not to regain Jerusalem, but to make the Greek Christians of the East hate their Latin brethren of the West with a bitter hatred (which they keep unto this day), almost greater than that which they reserved for the Mohammedans.

This was not the last crusade, but it was the last that had a serious chance of success. The Mohammedan states of Syria and Egypt were again become too powerful, and the Christian leaders lacked the military skill and local knowledge of Oriental conditions needful for victory. In 1229, the Christians gained Jerusalem under a treaty, but soon lost it (1244). In

<sup>1</sup> Who had supplied the crusaders with transport ships, and to whom they were therefore much beholden financially.



1248, **St. Louis of France** (Louis IX) made a brave but fruitless attempt to win Palestine by first conquering Egypt. His army was destroyed, and he himself taken prisoner. When he died in 1270, at Tunis, in northern Africa, on a second expedition, the crusading spirit had spent itself. Men had found other ways of satisfying their consciences than by armed expeditions to the Holy Land, and princes were too busy with their national conflicts to listen to the call of the Popes to a new "Sacred War."

In 1291, the Moslems took Acre, the last Christian fortress in Palestine.

53. *The results of the crusades.* Millions of persons, Europeans and Orientals, lost their lives in these crusades and the continual lesser warfare accompanying them; and the Holy Land was not really regained. Nevertheless, the result of these vast movements was not unmitigated evil and misery.

(a) Although the kings had joined in some of the crusades, the bulk of the fighting and of the loss fell upon the feudal nobility. Feudalism was weakened by the destruction of many princes and barons whose vacant holdings reverted to the Crown, thus greatly increasing royal authority. This was peculiarly true in France.

(b) An outlet was provided for the fighting spirit of the age. After such enormous effort in warfare a reaction to more peaceful conditions was bound to come. The crusades, then, were a real blow to the ceaseless feudal warfare and anarchy.

(c) Many city communities obtained charters of liberties thanks to the fact that their lords were going on a long and costly expedition, and needed the subsidies of their subjects. The lower classes were thus enabled to buy their emancipation. The necessity of the lord was the opportunity of the non-noble peasant or townsman.

(d) Most important of all, the crusades brought the men of the West in contact with an Eastern world far superior in



**many ways to the civilization of their own.** Oriental spices and carpets, many fruits and vegetables, many manufactured articles, such as morocco, muslin, velvet, paper, sugar, etc., were very possibly first carried to the West by the returning crusaders, who often brought back the secrets of their culture or manufacture with them. They thus brought back new handicrafts, new ideas, a wider knowledge of the world in every way. The new wants and new ideas also were **a notable stimulus to commerce and home industry** just at a time when Europe was beginning to awaken of itself to renewed peaceful activities.<sup>1</sup>

This increasing knowledge of the world with all that went with it, was one of the chief factors in hastening the passing of the Middle Ages.

## REVIEWS

1. *Topics* — Seljuk Turks; Urban II; Clermont; Peter the Hermit; Godfrey of Bouillon; "Franks"; Antioch; The Holy Lance; St. Bernard; Saladin; Frederick Barbarossa; Acre.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Mark the routes of the first four Crusades.
  - (b) Locate Dorylæum; Antioch; Jerusalem; Clermont; Acre; Pisa; Genoa; Venice.
  - (c) Mark the Latin states of Syria.
3. What were the general conditions in Europe at the beginning of the crusades?
4. Why did not the crusades come earlier?
5. Summarize the causes of the crusades.
6. Compare the inducements offered the crusaders to go upon a "holy war" with those offered to Mohammedans (see chapter iv).
7. How do you account for the changes in the crusading routes from land routes to water routes, comparing the First and Third Crusades.
8. The organization of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.
9. Why did the Christians hold the Holy Land for such a long period?
10. What were the reasons for the failure of the later crusades?
11. Make a summary of the results of the crusades.

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<sup>1</sup> It is hard to trace the exact amount of Eastern culture that came to the West through the crusaders: Christian Europe learned much from the Moslems of Spain and Sicily, but in any case the crusade factor was the most important.



## EXERCISES

1. Early pilgrims to Jerusalem.
2. The story of Peter the Hermit.
3. The crusaders at Constantinople.
4. The difficulties of the siege of Jerusalem.
5. The importance of the commercial cities in the history of the crusades and of the Latin kingdoms in the East.
6. The Assizes of Jerusalem. Compare the feudal system in the Kingdom of Jerusalem with the system established in England under William I.
7. The Frankish castles in Syria.
8. The military orders — their origin and subsequent history.
9. Frederick II and the Saracens.
10. Mediæval ships.

## READINGS

*Sources* — Ogg: chapter xvii; chapter xix, pp. 314-21. Robinson: nos. 123-33.

*Modern Accounts*. Emerton: chapter xi. Bémont and Monod: chapter xxii. Seignobos: chapter viii. Archer and Kingsford: all chapters. Duruy: pp. 126-34.



## CHAPTER XI

### THE ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH NATION

54. *The sea as a factor in English history.* In the story of the "Building of Europe" one nation stands apart — England. Great has been the influence of the sea upon history, but seldom greater than when twenty miles of stormy water were set between the chalk cliffs of Dover in southern England and the opposite coast of France. The result of this separation of the British Isles from the rest of Europe has been not merely to render them far more defensible against invaders, but often to sever them from movements of thought and politics in which all the Continent more or less shared. England was thus, in the main, able to work out its own special national salvation, develop its own type of institutions and structure of society; and create, in brief, **a type of civilization somewhat peculiar to itself.** This fact had a potent bearing upon the history and institutions of nations yet unborn, which were destined to look to England as their founder — especially upon the development of the United States of America.

55. *The coming of the Saxons.* In Roman days "Britain" had been a province of the great Empire, although perhaps less deeply permeated by Roman manners and civilization than the neighboring lands in Gaul. About 407, the imperial legions had been withdrawn to defend the tottering home government. The natives appear to have seen their Roman protectors go with regret, and they were justified in their feelings. Within half a century their island had begun to be a prey to Germanic invaders, who went forth to conquer by sea, even as their Gothic and Frankish brethren started on their conquering migrations by land.



These **Saxons**<sup>1</sup> from the shores of Germany were at first a race of battle-worthy, untamed barbarians: pagans still, and capable chiefly as ravaging destroyers. The struggle began about 450, and lasted at least a century and a half. The Saxons began most of their invasions on the east coast of England, and slowly fought their way westward, in the face of desperate resistance from the native Celtic inhabitants. Several times the advance of the Saxons was temporarily halted,<sup>2</sup> only to be resumed, until by about 600, nearly all the Celtic element had been driven into the extreme west of Britain: into the gnarled hill country of **Wales**, and into the peninsula of Cornwall. Here, finally, they stood at bay and maintained independent principalities for centuries. The **Welsh** are indeed to-day an important factor in British life and still keep up their traditions and their Celtic language. But the great bulk of the land had passed to the invaders. Roman institutions and Roman religion (Christianity) seem to have been thoroughly uprooted.<sup>3</sup> **The Saxon tribes had possessed all of England (Angle-land)**, and had given it their own language and type of government and society.

#### 56. *The Saxon Kingdoms: the christianizing of England.*

By 600, the Saxon conquest was substantially complete, but the invaders were far from having founded a united nation. At least seven warring kingdoms possessed the land, and bloody and tedious is the tale of their collisions.<sup>4</sup> In the institutions

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the invaders were of different tribes, but all of the same general type and race: — thus we find the Anglo-Saxons and the Jutes all attacking Britain almost simultaneously, and seizing portions of the soil.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly it was at this time that King Arthur ruled among the native Celts and gave a temporary check to the invaders, but the facts of his career are hopelessly shrouded in legend: indeed, it is somewhat hard to prove that he is an historical character.

<sup>3</sup> It is generally held that the extermination or expulsion of the romanized Celts was so complete that the later England owes very little of its law and civilization to them.

<sup>4</sup> These kingdoms were Kent, Essex, Sussex, Wessex, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia; and this period is often called the time of the "Heptarchy" ("Seven Kingdoms").







and laws of these Anglo-Saxons (Angles plus Saxons) can be found the germs of very many of the institutions of England and America to-day, but the process of tracing them is often obscure and difficult. Slowly the seven kingdoms were fused into a single monarchy, but considerably before this process was completed the Anglo-Saxons had renounced paganism, even as had their Germanic brethren on the continent.

**The great Pope Gregory I<sup>1</sup> sent Augustine and other Roman missionaries to England,** and in 597, they converted Ethelbert, King of Kent. The old heathen worship died hard: there were reactions to paganism, and new Christian martyrs. But the Anglo-Saxons evidently were already finding their crude nature-worship unable to explain the great problems of life and eternity. Thus spoke one of "the king's chief men" while Edwin of Northumbria deliberated on accepting Christianity: "O King, this present life of man seems to me like the swift flight of a sparrow, passing through the room where you sit at supper in winter: in at one door he comes, then out of the other into the storm he vanishes. So is our life. If this new doctrine contains somewhat more certain, justly it deserves to be followed."

The adoption of Christianity was followed by a remarkable building of monasteries which in England as everywhere became notable seats of learning. The greatest scholar of the age, the "**Venerable**" **Bede** (d. 735), was an Anglo-Saxon monk of Jarrow.

By about 829 the process of uniting had gone so far that all the seven kingdoms were under the rule of Egbert of Wessex. There was now **a real English kingdom.**

**57. *The Northmen and Alfred.*** Hardly had the new kingdom begun to consolidate than sore trials smote it. England was now to be **invaded by the same Northmen who were simultaneously sending their bands against Frankland.** The

<sup>1</sup> See section II.



Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavian Northmen were, indeed, of much the same general stock and origin, but the former had been settled a good four hundred years in England, long enough to lose many of their savage habits, to change their religion, and to acquire the arts of peace. The Northmen came at first merely to plunder; then returned to make permanent conquests; and proved themselves often more than a match for the less military English.

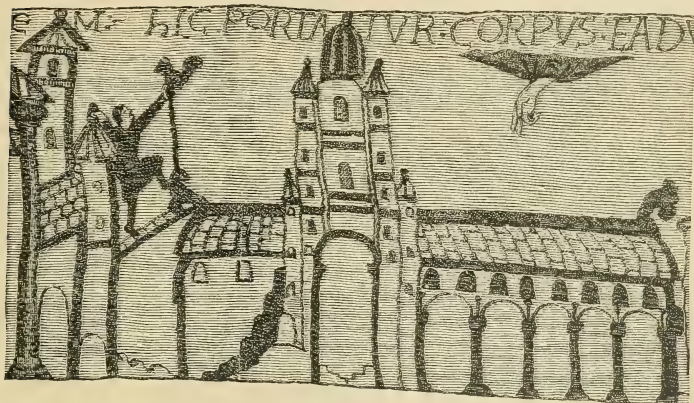
For a while, indeed, their onslaughts (which involved a return to the worst forms of barbarism and paganism) were halted by a very noble ruler, **King Alfred of Wessex** (871-901), who defended his people against great odds for many years, and finally compelled the Northmen to settle in northeastern England and leave the remainder in peace. Alfred is, indeed, a refreshing character to meet in an age of violence and barbarism: a warrior of no mean ability; the builder of a war fleet; the promulgator of many beneficent laws for his kingdom; the encourager of schools and educational institutions at least for the clergy and nobility; the translator of Latin books into Anglo-Saxon that his people might possess a desirable literature; — all this combined with a humane and genuinely Christian character make Alfred one of the rare figures in mediæval history.

Alfred's son Edward (901-25) and his grandsons reigned after him not unworthily; but in 980, when a long line of capable kings had degenerated, the Northmen invasions began again. The weak "Ethelred the Unready" was on the throne, and the work of Alfred seemed speedily undone.

**58. *Cnut and Edward the Confessor.*** The leaders of the Northmen were now the Kings of Denmark, and in **Cnut** the invaders had a terribly capable champion. By 1017, he had beaten down the resistance of the English and added England to his other realms of Denmark and Norway. Cnut, however, was no untamed barbarian. His people, through foreign



contact, were losing their fierceness, and Cnut himself became a Christian. During his reign (1017-35) England had what it seldom enjoyed before, — relative peace, law, and order. From a sadly undeveloped agricultural country, something like commerce, industry, and town life began to manifest itself. London (already the chief town) rose to new prominence. Cnut on his death left only weak successors; and the relation



WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN THE DAYS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR  
(From the Bayeux Tapestry)

to Denmark was peacefully dissolved in 1042 when **Edward the Confessor**<sup>1</sup> (of the old line of Alfred) was summoned by general consent to the throne of his fathers.

**59. William the Conqueror (1066-87).** Hitherto England had lain too much apart from the main channels of civilization. Its Norsemen invaders had been barbarians, less civilized than the old inhabitants. The natives had been forced to struggle to preserve their own civilization. Now in a drastic but effective fashion they were to be brought into contact with the outside world and made to participate in the culture of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> The title of "Confessor" has been bestowed upon Edward in recognition of his general piety and extreme devotion to the Church.



**The Norman Conquest** is almost the keystone of English history.

Edward the Confessor had spent his youth in residence in Normandy, and had learned there at the ducal court many of the refinements familiar in France, though all but unknown among the Anglo-Saxons. A weak prince himself, easily influenced, his reign witnessed a great flocking of Normans across the Channel to his court to receive positions in his government. The Anglo-Saxon nobles naturally resented this, and presently forced the king to dismiss most of the foreigners from their posts. Nevertheless, ties had been established



HAROLD SWEARS ON THE RELICS

While Harold was visiting in Normandy, William had forced him to support his claims to England. (*From the Bayeux Tapestry*)

between England and Normandy which were not readily broken. When Edward died in 1066, without sons, the Norman Duke William was ready to claim the succession to the English crown on the strength of a promise made him by the late king. Edward had no legal right to make such a grant without the consent of the Witan (the "Wise Men" of the realm), but here was a plausible claim for a capable, ambitious, unscrupulous warrior. The native party declared for **Harold**, the leader of the Anti-Norman reaction, and a gallant warrior



and worthy of William's steel. The sword was clearly to be the arbiter.

William assembled his Norman liegemen and a great host of French volunteers. **The prize was the whole land of England.** Landing in southern England, the duke soon confronted Harold, the new king, at **Hastings**<sup>1</sup> (October 14, 1066). Seldom has there been a more decisive battle, and if victory went to the Normans the Anglo-Saxons proved themselves dangerous foemen. For long through the day Harold's army of infantry



THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS  
(From the Bayeux Tapestry)

men with their mighty axes maintained their shield wall against the headlong charges of William's mounted knights. Finally, the better discipline of the Normans and their great superiority in archers gave them the battle. Harold fell, with his two brothers and all their bodyguard, battling to the last. It was a hard-won victory but decisive. Anglo-Saxon resistance collapsed. On Christmas Day, 1066, **William the Conqueror** was crowned in London.

England, on the whole, submitted to William (reigned 1066-87) with surprisingly little resistance. There were several fierce

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes known as the battle of Senlac.



revolts against his authority, but he crushed them with a heavy hand, and the rebels brought about nothing but their own ruin, and the confiscation of their estates to reward William's Norman followers. A whole horde of military adventurers had accompanied the Conqueror from the Continent. He had perforce to pay them by giving them nearly all the great offices in the Church and State, and by land grants whereby the original English were usually reduced to the status of under-tenants of their unwelcome Norman lords. But

**xv. TERRA Willelmi de Braiose. In Leicestershire.**  
 Willelmi de Braiose ten' de rege. Suscorre. brycuars  
 tenut de rege. E. Te se desit p. ii. hid. modo p. una hida.  
 Ista. e. iii. car. In dno. e. una. 7 v. uilli 7 viii. bord. cu. ii.  
 car. lbi. molin. de. xviii. solid. 7 piscaria de. l. denar.  
 Valuit. iii. lib. modo. c. solid.

**xvi. TERRA Willelmi LOVER. In Leicestershire.**  
 Willelmi LOVER ten' de rege. de. Leicestershire. Tenut de rege. E.  
 in alod. Te se desit p. viii. hid. modo p. i. hida 7 una v.  
 Ista. e. v. car. In dno. dim' car. 7 iii. uilli 7 iii. bord. cu. ii.  
 car. lbi. ii. serui. 7 molin. de. xv. solid. 7 iii. de pa.  
 Silva de. v. porc. Valuit viii. lib. 7 post. c. sol. modo. lxx. sol.  
 Ista. W. ten' de. Leicestershire. Tenut de rege. E. in alod p. vi. Te 7 m. p. iii. hid 7 una v.

FACSIMILE OF ENTRIES IN DOMESDAY BOOK

William had no intention of creating another feudal France, where the king's power was at the mercy of the disobedient seigneurs. The feudal system never gained the hold upon England that it did upon the Continent. William kept a firm rein upon his Norman barons, and prevented any one man or group thereof from becoming all-powerful.<sup>1</sup> He kept the right to tax all his subjects, and in 1086 he produced the "Domesday

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the fact that England was conquered gradually from the south upward, it came to pass that most Norman barons had their "manors" (estates) well separated, and not all in one district. A baron could then draw revenues from all his lands, but he could not readily assemble all his armed vassals to act against the king. This was indeed a mere incident in the conquest, but it redounded greatly to the advantage of the monarch.



**Book,**" a careful record of a survey of the taxable wealth of all England. In that year, too, he exacted from all the landholders of England the great **Salisbury Oath**, by which they bound themselves by direct allegiance to the king, and could not plead the commands of some intermediate seigneur (as in France) if they took up arms against him.

William the Conqueror, in short, did a most necessary work by severe methods.

The old anarchy of Anglo-Saxon days was largely ended.

The "**King's Peace**" and the "**King's Law**" prevailed throughout England.

"Good peace he made in this land," said the old Anglo-Saxon chronicler, who deplored his many faults, "so that a man might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation." Terrible though this period seemed for the down-



EXCHEQUER TABLE

(From "*The Red Book of the Exchequer Court of Ireland*," fifteenth century)

pressed Anglo-Saxons, nevertheless it cleared the way for better things.

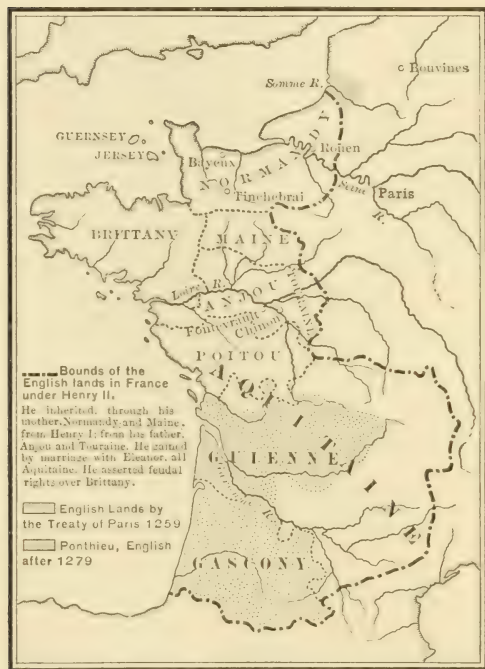
**60. The Successors of William (1087-1100).** William was succeeded by his unscrupulous but not incapable son William II (1087-1100),<sup>1</sup> and he by his talented brother **Henry I** (1100-35), under whom began the slow process of reconciliation and intermarriage between Norman and Anglo-Saxon. Henry won

<sup>1</sup> Usually known as William "Rufus" (= "The Red").



the loyalty of the English by marrying a princess of the old Saxon royal line, and by pledging himself in a charter to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor. From his reign also date certain important devices for good government which had considerable future significance. The king's justice was to be secured not merely by the terror of men-at-arms, but

by traveling judges going upon regular rounds through the country ("justices on circuit"), and by a sort of high court consisting of the king and his chief ministers. The king's money, also,—taxes, feudal dues, fines, etc.,—was to be brought in twice per year to a meeting of the ministers who had charge of it, and piled upon a table which had a checker-board cover, to aid in counting. From this circumstance the meeting was



ENGLISH LANDS IN FRANCE TO 1300

called the "Exchequer,"<sup>1</sup> a name which is sometimes given to the British Treasury unto this day.

Henry was strong enough to enforce his reforms, but under his nephew **Stephen** (1135-54) the lawless barons plundered

<sup>1</sup> The finance minister of England is still called the "Chancellor of the Exchequer."



and ravaged far and wide, and built up their castles, — after the bad fashion in France, — to defy the royal justice. Henry's daughter Matilda waged war on Stephen, and finally he accepted her son Henry as his heir. This **Henry II** brought back happier days for England. He sternly repressed the robber nobles, and restored the reforms of the first Henry, while adding yet others.<sup>1</sup> From his father, the Count of Anjou, Henry II had inherited a great dominion in France,<sup>2</sup> and much of his time was spent out of England. Even in his able hands such a condition worked harm for England, for the interests of both nobles and king were continually divided. It was a boon for the island kingdom, when, after the inconclusive reign of the brave crusader, **Richard I** (1189-99),<sup>3</sup> his brother **John** (1199-1216) lost almost all the continental possessions, even the ancestral land of Normandy, to the wily and able Philip Augustus of France.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Hence he and his descendants were called "Angevin" (Anjou) kings, or "Plantagenets," from the broom-plant (Latin, *planta genista*), which his father is said to have worn as a badge.

<sup>3</sup> Richard the Lion-Hearted: for his crusade, see p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> In the reign of Henry II occurred a famous incident which illustrates at once the violence and lawlessness of the feudal ages and also the mighty retributive power of the Church. Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and consequently first prelate of England, a high-minded and aggressive man, had long been at odds with Henry II over what he alleged were the king's usurpations of the rights of the Church. After a period of banishment, Becket had been recalled to his dignities, but his relations with the king again became strained. Finally he excommunicated certain bishops who had been firm adherents of the king's party. When the news of Becket's deed traveled to France, where the king was, Henry burst out in wrath, — "Of the cowards who eat my bread is there none who will free me of this turbulent priest!" Four of the royal knights took this as a license to commit murder. They journeyed to England, and presently forced their way into Canterbury Cathedral, and slew Becket at the very foot of the altar (1170).

Henry was stricken with horror at the thought of what his partisans had done in his name. The Pope excommunicated the murderers, and enrolled Becket among the saints. In 1174, to restore himself to the favor of Heaven, Henry (though at this time a most powerful and dreaded king) visited Canterbury as a barefoot penitent, and at the tomb of the slain prelate implored forgiveness for his part in the crime. Then, kneeling against the tomb, he suffered all the



**61. The Great Charter (*Magna Charta*).** John did not lack a certain frantic energy, but his general character was that of a faithless, cowardly, and wholly unscrupulous tyrant. He embroiled himself with the great Pope Innocent III, fell under the papal anathema, and finally was driven into actually confessing himself a feudal vassal of the Papacy. Philip Augustus stripped him of his noble French inheritance, — Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. **In England the king's blundering despotism alienated almost all his nobles.** By 1214 he had driven them to desperation, and they met the king in arms.

Already in the century and a half since Hastings the institutions of "Free England" had begun to shape themselves, sometimes on the basis of old Saxon usages, sometimes from a modification of feudalism. Now the demands which the malcontent barons made upon John were couched in a distinctly less selfish and personal spirit than those of ordinary feudal revolters. Not because they loved the common people, but because they needed their countenance and help against the overweening power of the king, the English barons were obliged to take the interests of the commonalty somewhat into account in the program of reform. John found himself for the moment helpless, and "nursing his wrath the tyrant summoned the barons to a conference at Runnymede," July 15, 1215. Here in a meadow near Windsor was sealed by the unwilling king **Magna Charta.**

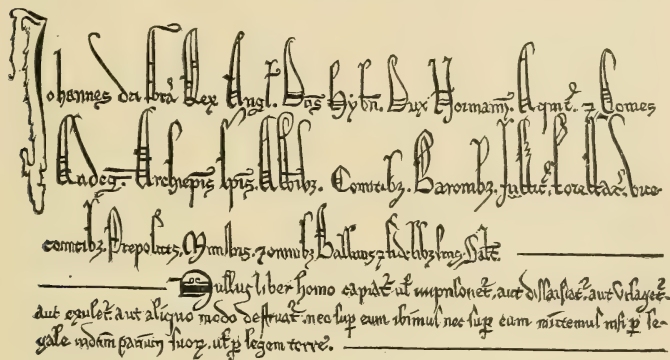
Many of the provisions of this famous document have only a limited or personal application. It was not a general constitution or bill of rights for the realm, and the interests of the churchmen present (about eighty) to smite him with their lashes upon his naked shoulders, — every monk giving three blows, and every bishop five.

Becket's shrine became among the most famous in Christendom, miracles and wonders were reported to have been wrought at it, and great wealth was bestowed upon it. The pilgrimage to "St. Thomas of Canterbury" remained one of the most popular of all pious journeyings down to the end of the Middle Ages. (Recall Chaucer's *Canterbury Pilgrims*.)



nobility were those most carefully provided for; nevertheless, certain fundamental principles therein stated remain the basis of Anglo-Saxon "liberty" unto this day. Particularly was it provided that no "aids and scutages" (i.e., various forms of taxation) should be collected except by the consent of an assembly of the feudal lords,<sup>1</sup> and again the king pledged, "no man is to be taken or imprisoned [or otherwise molested] except by the legal judgment of his equals, and by the law of the land."

Imperfect as were these provisions, many historians find



FACSIMILE EXTRACT FROM MAGNA CHARTA

the prophecies here for the two fundamental privileges of British and American citizens — freedom from arbitrary taxation and freedom from arbitrary imprisonment. The "Great Charter" deserves its name.

**62. The thirteenth century in England.** John died in 1216, utterly discredited and still at war with his subjects. During the long reign of his son, **Henry III** (1216–72), the country prospered in spite of the incompetence of the sovereign. For a while the barons, led by Simon de Montfort, actually took the government into their own hands, defying the king and

<sup>1</sup> This gathering was by no means a representative parliament: but during the next century the king's councils and assemblies came more and more to contain delegates from *all classes* of the population.



calling upon the lesser nobles to help them raise the taxes. From 1272 to 1307, however, England was in the control of one of the greatest statesmen in its long line of kings, — **Edward I**, son of the late Henry III. Following the lead of the barons, he called together representatives of the “counties” (i.e., local districts) and the towns to meet with his “Great Council”; and so began the English Parliament (1295). This “**Model Parliament**” contained two classes, the great nobles and the high prelates, who alike received individual summonses to come, and the two representatives from each shire (county) and borough (incorporated town), who came upon a general summons to the place, ordering it simply to elect deputies to advise with the king. This distinction marked the “Lords” from the “Commons.” Only the latter were elected. Edward’s reason, indeed, for calling in the Commons was to get their authorization for taxes. The Commons voted these, and in return, although they did not yet claim the right to “pass laws,” they could “petition the king” for this or that favor, and he was under considerable constraint to “redress their grievances.” Under a weaker king, about a century later,<sup>1</sup> the voting of money was actually made conditional upon the king’s acceptance of the “bill” of Parliament, which — upon receiving his seal — became a regular part of the law of the land.

### 63. *The origins of the “common law” and of trial by jury.*

As early as the reign of Henry II there are evidences of the clear beginnings of certain legal usages which have left their influence down to this day. In the twelfth century the legal system of England was still in a very unfixed state. Old Anglo-Saxon usage had favored the ordeals — e.g., by boiling water or the red-hot iron — to decide law suits: the Normans had favored the ordeal of wager of battle.<sup>2</sup> Another old Germanic method

<sup>1</sup> Henry IV (see p. 187, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> On “Ordeals,” see note at end of chapter 1, p. 8.



in favor was for the accused to clear himself by getting a certain number of his neighbors to swear that they believed him innocent. If he had thus enough "oath-helpers" he went free.<sup>1</sup> But by the time of Henry II, the king's traveling ("itinerant") judges were beginning to administer a different system.

(a) There was the need being felt of a more scientific and



THOMAS À BECKET DISPUTING WITH HENRY II

universal set of laws than the old "local customs," which had been hitherto applied each in its own petty district.<sup>2</sup> As the king's judges went about holding court "on circuit," they began to develop a "**common law**" (i.e., usages and customs good for all England). These general laws were worked out comparatively scientifically along the line of the old customs, but with an improved spirit, thanks to the example of the old

<sup>1</sup> This process was called "compurgation."

<sup>2</sup> The "local customs" were at their worst in France where there were several hundred petty codes in as many little districts.



Roman law, the study whereof was reviving among the learned. This "common law," in short, was so successful that it became the basis for all English law of later times, and is the fundamental private law of the United States unto this day.<sup>1</sup>

(b) In Henry II's reign we hear of the **jury**. It was then used not to try criminals, who must still endure the "ordeal," but to accuse them. This was the origin of our modern "grand jury." At about this time also we find a jury to settle "civil" (private) lawsuits, but it was not until after the ordeal had been abolished, in 1215, that there developed a second jury to try criminals after they had been accused by the first jury. This new body was called the "petit jury." All these bodies were varieties of an earlier "inquest jury" which William I had used to collect information and assess property. This body in turn seems to have come from Normandy and is very likely traceable back to the old Roman law. So originated our system of **trial by jury**, which is one of the most important contributions of England to the world's legal history. Hereafter under the new system a man's fate was to be settled, not by a superstitious ordeal, or by an official of a possibly tyrannous ruler, but by a group of his neighbors and peers. A great safeguard, surely, against absolutism!

By 1300, it is fair to say that the process of blending the Saxons and the Normans into one race is practically completed. "Norman-French" is still the language of the courtly nobility and Latin that of the judges and lawyers, but **English** — a tongue based on the old Anglo-Saxon, but with a great commingling of Latin, introduced through the Norman-French — has become the general language of the now solidified land. This new "English" people has ceased to look back to the "Conquest" as an age of victory or oppression. The descendants of the Norman barons feel themselves at home in their

<sup>1</sup> Except in the State of Louisiana, where the basis of the law is not English but Roman, derived through the French.



island possessions; their "tenantry" and "yeomen" no longer consider them foreign tyrants. There is a common loyalty to the king, to the "English nation," and to the "good old customs of England"; above all, there have developed certain political and legal institutions which will go into every Anglo-Saxon land hereafter.

By 1300, England, though less populous and wealthy than several European countries, had become a well-ordered and compact nation, and was able to interfere in the affairs of the Continent.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Venerable Bede; Alfred the Great; Cnut; Edward the Confessor; Harold; Domesday Book; Itinerant Justices; Jury; Magna Charta; Model Parliament.
2. *Geography* — Locate, and tell why important: London; Salisbury; Runnymede; Canterbury; York; Oxford; Hastings.
3. By an indication of the general lines of attack adopted by the different invaders of England before the Norman Conquest, suggest the influence of geographical features on the settlement, invasion, and subsequent distribution of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes.
4. Would the fact that there was one church with one head in England help the unity of the country in Saxon days? In the Norman period?
5. Compare Alfred and Charlemagne.
6. The character and work of William I: what circumstances aided his conquest?
7. Magna Charta, — how obtained? its importance and chief provisions?

### EXERCISES

1. The work of St. Patrick.
2. The council of Whitby and its importance.
3. Contrast the England of Edward the Confessor's time with the England of 1087. In what did it differ at this latter date from the duchy of Normandy? Why?
4. The Norman kings and their relations to the Papacy and the national English Church. Note especially the work of Anselm and Stephen Langton.
5. Trace the growth of the English judicial system from Henry I to Edward I.



6. Henry II as king: his difficulties with his sons, his barons, his French lands, and the Church? What did his reign really achieve?
7. Simon de Montfort and his rebellion. What were his ideas of Parliamentary government? How did they differ from the final results under Edward I.
8. Edward I, "the English Justinian." Show the great importance of his reign in the development of the English Constitution.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapters v, xi, xiv, xviii. Robinson, nos. 39-42; 94a, 96-101.

*Modern Accounts.* Bémont and Monod: pp. 124-32; 445-66. Seignobos: pp. 147-57. Any good textbook of English history (as Ransome's *Advanced History of England*, pp. 3-205; especially pp. 91-103, and 135-81).



## CHAPTER XII

### LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGES

64. *The feudal castle.* In the Middle Ages there were really only three classes of people, — feudal **warriors**, privileged **priests**, and servile **peasants**.<sup>1</sup> We will consider now the life of the first two of these classes — the only two classes then usually reckoned to be of real importance.

The regular unit of life in the Middle Ages was not the city or the open farmstead. It was **the feudal castle** — a more or less pretentious fortification, situated if possible upon a lofty hill, and often with a little village of the rude huts of the lord's peasants clustered close beside it. During the earlier feudal period these castles were of a very primitive nature. In most cases they would be simply a single huge wooden, and then later stone, tower — round or square, with merely a rude palisade with a ditch for outworks. The height would baffle any scaling-ladder. There would be no opening in its blank masonry until a considerable distance from the ground. Then the narrow door would be entered only by a flimsy wooden bridge, easy to demolish, or a frail ladder — drawn up every night. Inside this tower there would be a series of dark, cavernous rooms, one above another, communicating by means of ladders. The sole purpose of such a comfortless castle was **defense**: — and that defense by mere height and mass,<sup>2</sup> not by any skill in arranging the various parts.

<sup>1</sup> Any artisans — carpenters, weavers, and the like — would usually be numbered among the peasants, and probably would spend a part of their time in agriculture. As for commerce, it had sunk to the importation of a few luxuries, — e.g., silks, spices for cooking, incense for the Church. These Oriental wares would be supplied through the rare visits to the castles by wandering peddlers.

<sup>2</sup> There were many castles with donjons that rose over one hundred feet high,



Little by little this simple **donjon** became more complicated.<sup>1</sup> The original tower was kept, but only as the last citadel of a great complex of fortifications. There developed outer palisades, moats, flanking towers, gates defended by drawbridge and portcullis, a great courtyard surrounded by fairly habitable buildings, with the donjon still frowning down as the center of all. Great ingenuity was displayed in making a series of concentric lines of defense. To force the outer barriers meant simply that you had a far stronger inner bulwark before you. The best kind of a mediæval castle needed only a very small garrison. From behind its walls even a petty baron could defy a kingly army.

**65. Life in the castle.** In this castle (more or less extensive according to the power and ambitions of its owner) would live the feudal lord (seigneur), his family, and some scores or hundreds of personal retainers — men-at-arms, “varlets,” and serving-women. **For a normal mediæval nobleman there was only one legitimate calling — warfare**, or the preparation for the same. A lad of noble family would only learn to read and write by some exception.<sup>2</sup> From his earliest manhood he would be taught the use of arms, — to mount a “destrier,” one of the ferocious war-horses; to leap and strike actively in ponderously heavy armor; to handle sword and lance with precision. Probably his father would send him to the court of his own feudal suzerain to be “nourished” — i.e., taught all the things which pertained to a high-born warrior. Here as his lord’s “**squire**” he would be given certain lessons in court

and with walls fully twenty feet thick. At Coucy (in northeastern France), a relatively late and highly elaborate castle, was a tower two hundred and ten feet high.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the mediæval castle-builders got many of their ideas of fortification through the crusades — from the military art of the East Romans and Mohammedans. Castles kept getting more and more complicated down to about 1400.

<sup>2</sup> This was surely true in the earlier Middle Ages; in the later Middle Ages, the nobles, of course, became increasingly literate, and presently we find high-born scholars and genuine patrons of learning.



ceremonial, in the courtesy due noblewomen, the waiting on banquets, fêtes; but his main education would still be military. When about twenty, his training would be complete. He would be a first-class warrior now: a match with his great horse and formidable armor for twenty less trained and poorly armed footmen. His lord at length would give him an elaborate feast, where the young noble would be given new spurs and girded with a new sword. Finally, the lord would give him the formal buffet on the head or shoulder — the accolade. “Be valiant!” he would enjoin. The young squire was henceforth a “knight.”<sup>1</sup>

In due time this youth, if an eldest son, might hope to inherit his father's castle. A younger son must turn adventurer and try to win a vacant fief — or a rich heiress — by the grace of some prince in whose service he fought. The times which were spent at the castle without actual warlike occupation could be whiled away by endless hunting, with dogs or hawks, with wild feasting (too often turning into bestial carousals), or with **tournaments** — i.e., mock battles, in which the element of deadly risk was often great. The average feudal seigneur had few enough quiet avocations. He might make a winter's evening endurable by playing chess, or listening to a minstrel's tale of “the great deeds of Roland



A HAWKING PARTY

(From a thirteenth-century German manuscript in the Heidelberg Library)

<sup>1</sup> Knighthood was clearly at first only the public recognition that the young noble was now a full-fledged warrior. The idea of a religious ceremonial, “chivalric” vows and duties, an especial blessing by the Church, etc., all came in the later Middle Ages.



and Charlemagne ”; but he was likely to find such diversions weary stuff.<sup>1</sup>

The women of the castle were of like temper with the men. The seigneur's dame had probably been married to him by her parents while a very young girl, with little heed paid to her own wishes. At times he might treat her almost as brutally as he did his oafish serving-men; but she in turn would be a hardened, masterful woman, well able to chastise her dozens of slovenly “weaving-women,” and to command the castle garrison when her lord was off on the foray. The age was a strenuous one, and few weaklings would be able to survive the physical perils of childhood.

**66. *The relations of suzerain and vassal.*** Theoretically the feudal system was a most humane arrangement between “lord” and “man” — of reciprocal loyalty and protection, service and reward. Actually it **put a premium on contention, oath-breaking, aggression, insurrection.** Practically, every “noble” (i.e., member of the feudal fighting class) was a vassal<sup>2</sup> of some one, and had vassals under him. The vassal was bound to kneel before “his gracious lord,” and take oath to be a faithful helper in return for the landed fief granted him. This was “doing homage.” The main duties of a trusty vassal were to give his lord good counsel,<sup>3</sup> certain limited money aids, and especially to fight for him (along with his own followers) so many days each year, and, of course, never to do anything to injure the lord's interests. The latter in turn owed his vassal “justice and protection.”

<sup>1</sup> A list has been made of the possible amusements of a French mediæval seigneur: there are fifteen; these include fencing, playing chess, eating and drinking, listening to songs, watching bear fights, talking with ladies, holding his court, warming himself, having himself cupped and bled, and watching the snow fall!

<sup>2</sup> “Vassals” were always noblemen: the term was never applied to peasants or townsmen.

<sup>3</sup> Especially in aiding the lord in pronouncing legal judgments, for the execution of which the lord and his advisers were naturally responsible.



The value of this pact usually depended on the power and tact of the lord in enforcing it, and the necessities of the vassal. An ambitious, skillful prince could build up a great feudal dominion: under a weak heir there would be a general "refusal of homage" — the dependent fief would crumble away from him. Many a nominally subordinate baron would "hold" his various fiefs of two or more suzerains at once — and often these might be at war: the result would be that the vassal would play off one against the other to his own great advantage. Often the "**homage**" became the merest formality, and the vassal was to all intents and purposes an independent prince.<sup>1</sup> Then, too, the question of the relation of *his* vassals to the overlord was always a delicate one. The overlord was always trying to get away the sub-vassals (of his dependents), so as to have them as his "immediate" (direct) liegemen, as being then more subservient and therefore more serviceable to himself. "The vassal of my vassal is not my vassal" ran the saying. Over these questions of "sub-infeudation" would come endless friction.

**67. Feudal Wars.** Feudal wars were incessant. Every baron was likely to nurse a grudge against his equal, — the lord of the next feudatory, — against his suzerain (or suzerains), and against his own vassals, for all kinds of reasons. The right of "**private warfare**" was cherished by even the lowest nobles. The Church, aided sometimes by the kings, tried to mitigate these local wars by the "Truce of God" (cessation of fighting between Wednesday night and Monday morning and on holy days) and by various other restrictions, but to settle one's troubles with sword and battle-axe was a "noble right"; it was really a concession, often, if the contending barons fought out their troubles in single combat (the

<sup>1</sup> A case to the point is the story of Geoffrey of Anjou (eleventh century), who captured Thibaut of Blois, forced him to grant in fief his county of Tours, then "did homage" to his prisoner.



so-called "judicial duel") before judges who arranged fair play, and did not embroil the whole countryside in general warfare.

Quarrels over hunting and fishing rights, over boundaries of fiefs, over titles to fiefs, over the division of a fief between



SACK OF A VILLAGE

(From a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century, in the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg)

brothers, over the dowry claims of a widowed mother, over the right of the overlord to declare a fief vacant — these were a few of the pretenses for plunging a community into misery. Contrary to general belief, feudal wars saw few great battles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of course, a good many real battles are recorded during the whole course of



The weaker bands shut themselves up in their castles: the stronger party tried to coerce its foes by burning their open villages, ravaging their fields, driving off their cattle, persecuting their peasantry. What fighting there was usually came in single combats, raids, ambushades, or skirmishing on a small scale. **The main sufferers were the wretched peasantry**, the helpless prey of either party. At length one party would become exhausted. Peace would be made — and duly sworn to upon the box of holy saints' relics in some near-by church; but at any time the feud might be resumed if the formerly losing side saw new hopes of victory. There was exceedingly little, therefore, that was morally ennobling in this warfare of the sometimes-lauded days of "chivalry and romance."

**68. *The general wretchedness of feudal life.*** The feudal anarchy was at its worst in the tenth century: from about 1000 onward matters steadily improved, yet even by 1200 law and order were woefully lacking in many parts of France, not to name less settled countries. It requires some stretch of imagination to think of a time when **war, not peace, was the order of the day**, and when to "take one's weapons" was almost as usual as to don one's cloak. A journey of any length without arms for one's self, and if possible a strong escort, was (except for churchmen<sup>1</sup> and ragged peasants) practically unthinkable.

There were many other drawbacks to life in the feudal ages, apart from this reign of armed violence. Outside of the Church practically all men were illiterate. Great barons and peasants alike were victims of crass superstitions. The Church

mediæval history. But they are decidedly few, considering the total amount of *warfare* which was going on. When they did occur, they were usually very unscientific; huge bodies of warriors rushed on one another; each man selected an opponent; the side which won the majority of the resulting duels would win the final day. There are almost no great strategists to be found among the mediæval captains.

<sup>1</sup> Even monks and priests were subject to frequent attack and pillage by bandits and barons who defied the thunders of the Church.



did well to lay great emphasis on the warnings of hell-fire — it was only the animal fear of the eternal burning that kept many a sinful nobleman within the bounds of decency. Castles and hovels lacked the merest rudiments of modern sanitation and consequent healthfulness. On the floors of the great halls, where the lords and retainers feasted and drank deep, would lie a thick litter of rushes, changed only a few times each year. Into these rushes would be cast most of the scraps from the meal. What the numerous dogs did not devour would there remain until the distant day of sweeping. Probably as late as 1200, there was not a castle in Europe (even of a great king) where a modern visitor would not have been utterly horrified by very many matters to offend eyes, ears, and nostrils. Medical science was often mere quackery.<sup>1</sup> A great proportion of children were born dead: another great fraction died in infancy. In short, thanks to bad sanitation, lack of medical treatment, and ignorance of the laws of health, the proportion of persons who grew to old age (apart even from those cut off in war) was much less than to-day.

The original feudal castle was merely a cheerless barracks, and fortunate it was that the folk of the Middle Ages spent as much of their time as possible in the open air. The later castles became more livable and in the end — in a crude way — luxurious, although never really comfortable in the gray days of winter. But to the man of modern ideas, **the great drawback to mediæval life was its extreme mental limitations and monotony**, — the lack of most intellectual pleasures, the extreme paucity of ideas, the narrowness of the human horizon,<sup>2</sup>

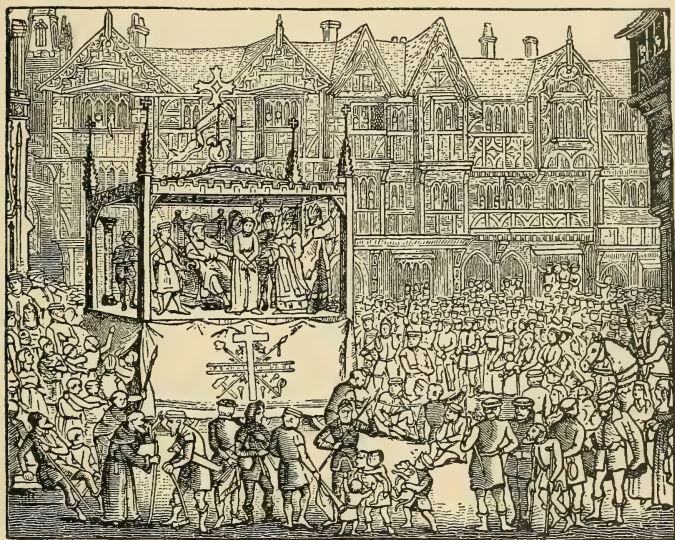
<sup>1</sup> The best medical science of the Middle Ages was often derived from the Mohammedans, especially the Moors of Spain. Occasionally by the use of common sense and rough knowledge gained by experience, a mediæval doctor could accomplish real cures, but the average physician was often an unpunished murderer!

<sup>2</sup> A great source of mental narrowness was, of course, the absence of easy communication: roads often were mere trails or tracks; dangerous fords in place of bridges; no decent inns; robbers everywhere. Practically all commerce had to



the perpetual round of carousing, hawking, boar-hunting, tournaments, and downright warfare. It was amid this almost soul-deadening monotony that the great seigneur lived. Was there, indeed, any escape from such a melancholy stagnation, for men of weaker bodies and nobler intellects? The answer came — “in the Church.”

**69. *Life in the Church.*** From 900 to 1250, or later, the best intelligence of Europe was usually in the Church. It absorbed



A MYSTERY PLAY AT COVENTRY

the energies which to-day are absorbed, not only by the clergy, but by the lawyers, physicians, teachers, and many of the more important forms of business. The Church had entered the feudal system. Possibly nearly one third of the lands of western Europe were held by churchmen — doing homage for them to overlords, and receiving the homage in turn of lay vassals. Many a dying baron, stricken in conscience after a turbulent life, would have preferred to be buried by pack-horses instead of carts. Under such circumstances *ideas*, no less than foreign commodities, can be exchanged only slowly.



life, had willed most of his estates to some bishopric or abbey "for the eternal profiting of his soul." Of course, the "one Catholic Church" was the only one allowed to exist by public law and public opinion. It was as inconceivable to have two permissible religions on earth as to have two suns in heaven; and by both secular and church law the stake and fagots awaited heretics as certainly as the gallows awaited murderers. No one dreamed of having things otherwise.

The churchmen fell roughly into two great classes — the **secular clergy**, who lived "in the world" and had the "cure of souls"; and the **regular clergy** (i.e., monks subject to the monastic rule).<sup>1</sup> The **bishops** had often great revenues from the estates of their "dioceses" (districts): **they were usually feudal overlords of a considerable principality**, and besides managing the churches of the region, were immersed in secular business. They were often the king's ministers, diplomats, and sometimes even leaders of his armies. Men of humble birth occasionally rose to be bishops, but as a rule they were noble-born, — a bishopric proving a very convenient depository for the younger sons of a noble house when the eldest had the principality. The humbler **parish priests** were usually appointed by the rich layman (or his heirs) who had endowed the local church, and these priests were frequently peasant-born. Compared with the bishops they were inferior, indeed, but among their fellow-peasants they were revered, not merely as the sacred intermediaries between God and man, but as the only individuals, often, in the parish who had the least education, — i.e., could read, write, and speak a little Latin.

Among the **regulars**, the **abbots of the monasteries** often had positions of feudal influence almost equal to the great **bishops**. The monks were as a rule more learned than the parish priests, because they had less work to do among the laity and could devote their leisure to studies. At its worst, the

<sup>1</sup> Compare chapter III, section 12.



monastic life was said to imply great idleness and gluttonous dinners: at its best, a monk was intensely busy with all kinds of peaceful arts and with continuous hard study. Neighboring abbeys differed often in character. One might be extremely lax; the next famous for its learning and pious austerities.

One thing all churchmen claimed in common: exemption from trial in the ordinary lay courts. A priest must be tried by his bishop, a monk by his abbot. The Church was, in fact, "a state within a state."

**70. *The intellectual life of the Middle Ages.*** Down to about 1200, almost all intellectual life seemed centered in the Church<sup>1</sup> — at first only in the monasteries, which maintained schools for the training of their novices or intended priests, and later in the schools attached to the great cathedrals. The learning preserved in these monasteries was almost entirely in Latin, and based either upon the Bible, the early Christian writers (the "Fathers"), or upon such old Roman authors as Cicero and Virgil. There was exceedingly little originality of scholarship, almost no personal investigation of the phenomena of nature, and a great willingness to say [e.g.], "thus says St. Jerome," and to consider all discussion of the case closed by merely citing a time-honored authority. This, of course, often led to many absurd notions, when either the ancients themselves were wrong, or when (very often) their real meaning was misunderstood. Nevertheless, it was of **great merit that the monks kept any intellectual life at all** in the Middle Ages, considering the general storm and stress! Also, it was of no less service that the gains for civilization by the ancients were in the main preserved until the next age could build a nobler civilization upon them. The mediæval monk, despite his slavish bowing to the dicta of "Master Aristotle,"<sup>2</sup> his endless

<sup>1</sup> This was so much the case that it was assumed that if a man could read he was a "clerk" — i.e., in churchly orders.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle wrote in Greek; but some of his works had been translated into Arabic, and then, by a curious round-about process, into Latin. Other of his



parchments upon the obscure mysteries of theology, his hopelessly unscientific "chronicles" which record so imperfectly the annals of his own time, should nevertheless be the hero of an age when to fix one's ambition on anything save feudal glory must have been infinitely hard.

By about 1200, we find the hitherto despised "vernacular" of the laity — French, German, Italian — beginning to express itself in literature, but for a long time the stately Latin of the mediæval churchmen held its own as the language of all learned men. It had been hardly displaced by the age of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

**71. The Gothic cathedrals.** In its own especial way this mediæval society was intensely religious. It showed its zeal in a series of **great architectural monuments** which remain as the most glorious witnesses to the best in the Middle Ages. The great mediæval churches cover Germany, Italy, northern Spain, England, and especially **France**. Sometimes great barons built them, sometimes bishops or abbeyes, but often whole communities united in one great offering to God — devoting their wealth and energy for a century more or less to building a stately cathedral.<sup>2</sup> At first these were in the **Romanesque** (rounded arch) style. After about 1150, they began to rise in the more elegant **Gothic** (with pointed arches).<sup>3</sup>

writings were available in a sixth-century translation by Boëthius. Aristotle was the great authority of the Middle Ages in all matters of secular learning.

<sup>1</sup> Among learned men, thanks especially to the influence of the Church, this mediæval Latin came much nearer giving the world a "universal language" than anything we have to-day.

<sup>2</sup> A cathedral is, of course, the especial seat of a bishop (his *sedes* = seat; hence the word "see.") Often the ordinary parish churches or the abbey churches were built with a magnificence equal to a cathedral. Usually the mediæval cathedrals were undertaken on such a magnificent scale that a whole generation could build only a small part of them. It has been well said, "No Gothic church has ever been finished!"

<sup>3</sup> More technically, we can say that diagonal ribs are used in Gothic churches to hold up the masonry vaulting, so that the weight of the roof is all on the capitals, none on the walls (which can be very thin, and have elaborate windows). A few genuinely Gothic churches have rounded arches.



The climax came in such French cathedrals as Notre Dame of Paris, and, better still, Amiens, Chartres, and Rheims. These "symphonies of stone" — with their soaring towers, lofty vaulted roofs, elaborate stone carvings, multitudes of sculptured saints, vast windows of inimitable stained glass — are witness to the truly devout and artistic life that could develop in the Middle Ages, and tell us that despite the feudal anarchy the forces of civilization and righteousness were winning the victory.<sup>1</sup>

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Donjon; Squire; Knight; Tournament; Homage; Vassal; Sub-infeudation; Truce of God; Secular Clergy; Regular Clergy; Clerk; Aristotle; Cathedral; Romanesque; Gothic. Find the meanings of these terms in any good dictionary: — Palisade; Moat; Portcullis; Drawbridge; Benefit of Clergy.
2. What are the chief differences between castles of the earlier Middle Ages and those of the later Middle Ages?
3. Compare the education of the noble youth of this period with the educational aims of Charlemagne. (See Emerton, Introduction, pp. 225, 228-29; Ogg, p. 145.)
4. Amusements in the Middle Ages.
5. What occasions would there be for feudal wars?
6. The influence of the Church as to maintaining peace and order.
7. What "comforts of life" existed in the Middle Ages?
8. What effects did the difficulties of travel and communication have?
9. Position of the Church and churchmen in the feudal system.
10. What were the textbooks of the Middle Ages? In what language were they written?
11. What is the significance of the cathedrals of the Middle Ages? Name some of the most famous.

### EXERCISES

1. What are the striking differences between a feudal army and a modern army?
2. Did the nobles pay taxes in the Middle Ages? If so, to whom? Compare with taxation under the Roman Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting fact that often in the mediæval churches the inner side of sculptures, etc., is elegantly finished, although set so as not to be exposed to any spectators. "But *God* can behold if our work is imperfect!" a mediæval craftsman would have said



3. Travel and communication in the Middle Ages. Compare with the same under the Roman Empire.
4. Life in a mediæval monastery.
5. The origins of the terms "Romanesque" and "Gothic" as applied to architecture. What are the characteristics of each style?
6. The armor and weapons of the feudal period.
7. What was meant by "honor" in the Middle Ages?
8. Compare in general life in the Roman Empire and that in feudal times.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter XIII (in review); chapter xv, section 44. Robinson: pp. 377-80.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 63-67, 71-90, 128-39. Bémont and Monod: pp. 254-67, chapter XXXI. Seignobos: *Feudal Régime*, chapters II, III. Emerton: chapters XIII, XIV, XVI. Duruy: pp. 111-16.



## CHAPTER XIII

### THE RISE OF THE NON-NOBLE CLASSES<sup>1</sup>

**72. *The evil state of the peasants.*** The knights and the priests with their swords or their pens made nearly all the history of the earlier Middle Ages; yet barely one man in forty belonged to these two favored classes taken together. It is time to say a little of the less favored thirty-nine.

In 1000, **the bulk of the peasantry in Europe were serfs** -- bound to the soil, subject to the extremes of forced labor and personal taxation, able to marry only with the consent of the seigneur, and able to transmit their little farm and personal belongings to their children only by the payment of a heavy tax, again to the seigneur. They could be actually bought and sold, but only along with the land to which they were unalterably attached.<sup>2</sup> If they ran away, they could be chased down as "masterless men," and reclaimed like runaway slaves. There were, however, also an increasing number of **free peasants**. These men could marry and change their abode at will, and transmit their property. But their social status was scarcely better than that of the serfs. They were without effective protection against the lords, who could tax and maltreat "serfs" and "freemen" alike with impartial brutality and arbitrariness.

Nobles and churchmen alike taught that it was the duty of

<sup>1</sup> While many of the statements in this chapter apply to the whole of western Europe, especial reference is made to France, as the most typical of all feudalized countries.

<sup>2</sup> In being thus bound to the soil, and having the real use if not actual ownership of a little farm, the mediæval serfs differed from absolute slaves. There were a few genuine slaves in Europe in the Middle Ages, but not enough to make them a real factor.



these "villeins"<sup>1</sup> to submit cheerfully to their lot, to support the upper classes with their labors, to thank Heaven if they were treated with a modicum of justice, and to endure patiently if the feudal lord abused them (as too frequently) a little worse than his dogs and cattle. Truth to tell, the villeins were probably a brutish lot. Their days were consumed in grinding field labor with spade and mattock; their homes were mere hovels of wood, sun-dried brick and thatch; their clothing a few coarse



PEASANTS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY  
(Adapted from a Bible of 1380 in the Brussels Library)

rag; their food always scanty. Of their intelligence, manners, cleanliness, nothing need be said. In the average peasant's hut, the dirty, half-naked children would struggle on the earthen floor along with the little pigs and the poultry. "How could God and the saints love such creatures?" — Betwixt peasant and noble there was surely a great gulf fixed!

**73. The slow rise of the agricultural classes.** In the Middle

<sup>1</sup> That is, dwellers in a *villa* or farm, whence later came the idea of a "villain" as a clownish, rascally countryman.



Ages the towns were at first few and insignificant, and nearly all peasants lived in miserable huts on the feudal estates. Agricultural methods were extremely primitive; a drought or a wet year meant a famine and misery for a wide district. During times of great shortage there are grim tales told of feasts on human flesh, and of the multiplication of wolves, human and quadruped. Even the rights which the feudal law secured to the peasant were seldom enforcible if his seigneur were an unscrupulous man: — for how could the serf ever hale his mail-clad lord to justice? Sickening stories of extreme tyranny and cruelty abound. Nevertheless, little by little the peasantry found their lot improve, for various reasons: —

(a) On the ample Church lands, the churchmen as a rule treated their peasants with greater humanity than did the average seigneur.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The Church declared the freeing of serfs a most meritorious act for a nobleman. Frequently a conscience-stricken baron would try to square accounts with Heaven by freeing all or a part of his peasants.

(c) Especially in crusading times the lords had great need of ready money for their wars. Wretched as the serfs were, often individuals or villages had saved up a little private stock. They could now “buy their freedom,” by one lump payment.

So the serfs were always tending to become “free peasants.” They were still despised villeins and “non-noble,” but they were not quite so defenseless. They were next able to make an agreement with their lords so that the taxes they paid on their lands, and the amount of forced labor requirable of them should be limited to a certain fixed amount. Besides, the **kings** (especially in France) were growing in power. They would give a certain protection to the peasants, as a makeweight to the nobles. Nevertheless, the country villeins continued

<sup>1</sup> Especially the peasants dependent upon an abbey could count on being fed by the monks in times of famine.



to be as a rule oafish, ignorant, and outrageously oppressed all through the Middle Ages. The non-nobles of Europe first found their opportunity and their power in the growth of the towns.

**74. *The rise of the free towns.*** The Roman Empire had been covered with stately cities. Many of these had perished outright; others were (in 1000) merely starving villages inside the ruins of the old walls. But in the decades following the year 1000 came **a revival of civic life**. Sometimes a reviving commerce reawoke a nigh-dead community; sometimes an unwontedly intelligent seigneur fostered its growth; sometimes the presence of a prosperous monastery was the decisive factor. By 1100, there are signs of city life over western Europe. By 1200, cities are numerous and relatively important.<sup>1</sup>

At first these cities were mere collections of a few nobles and a mass of peasants who preferred trading to farming. Ordinary feudal law (or lack of law) obtained in a community. The peasants were subject to about the same burdens as if they had worked in the fields. But in these towns the non-nobles could join together as never in the open country. They soon learned their numbers and their strength. Merchants and master artisans were becoming wealthy. They, too, were no longer utterly defenseless against the seigneur. **The towns soon built walls which could defy an ordinary feudal army.** Inside the gates the mounted knights — so formidable in the open field — were almost helpless in the narrow streets when stones and boiling water rained on them from the houses above. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cities of France, England, Flanders, and Germany were winning **charters** from their king or lords.

Occasionally these charters were freely granted by magnani-

<sup>1</sup> The small size of these "cities" must be clearly realized. In the Middle Ages 1000 inhabitants would make a considerable town: 10,000 a "great city," indeed. Very possibly in 1200 (outside of Italy), there were no places of much more than 10,000 inhabitants in all Western Christendom, save Paris and London.



mous and intelligent princes. Often they were purchased — through an extraordinary payment by the townsfolk. Sometimes, also, the king or emperor would grant them — perhaps in the teeth of the local feudal ruler — to set up a rival power beside that of the dangerous baron. Or often city folk rose en masse: the gates would be closed; the great alarm-bell rung; the residence of the local prince or prince-bishop would be stormed, and then the charter be granted before the threat of gleaming weapons. The ordinary result in any case was the same, a carefully drafted and sealed document creating a “free town” — i.e., with specific rights of local self-government, and all taxes and other obligations due to the lord defined and limited. Hereafter the inhabitants of such a town are no longer helpless peasants. They are called (in France) *bourgeoisie*, — “**free-burghers**,” — with their own especial rights. **They elect their own magistrates, levy their local militia, raise their own taxes**; and if fortune favors, the bond uniting them to their old feudal lord becomes very frail, indeed. The cities then become veritable little “city-states” — almost on the old Greek model.

This new order of **burghers**, which intruded itself between the two favored upper classes and the peasants, was unwelcome, indeed, to the former. “**Commune** — a name new and execrable!” cries a priestly chronicler. But the nobles and churchmen were fain to make the best they could of these intruders: for wealth, intelligence, enterprise, and new ideas made haste to find their way to the free towns.

**75. The aspect of a mediæval city.** The government of a mediæval city differed with time and country. In Italy, where the feudal power had always been weakest, the towns became most independent and were justly called “republics.” In Germany, Flanders, and France the assertion of liberty was never quite so complete. In any case the **mediæval city was never a democracy**. Sometimes various petty nobles actually



settled in the town, fraternized with the non-nobles, and made a civic aristocracy. More often, the great merchants, the heads of the trading and craft guilds, etc., formed a body of city "patricians," which dominated the city council, and usually supplied the "burghermasters" (Germany), "mayors" (France), or "consuls" or "podestas" (Italy), as the head magistrates were variously called. Yet while it was an aristocracy, such a government was usually intelligent and public-spirited. A burghermaster could hardly dare to imitate a feudal prince in his contempt for the wishes and rights of the lower classes. The government of a "free city," in short, would often be founded on efficiency and justice, though not on human equality.

As presented to the eye, a typical mediæval city would be a remarkable sight. Its extent would be small, both because of the limited population, and the need of making the circuit of the walls to be defended as short as possible; but within these walls the huge, many-storied houses would be wedged closely together. The narrow streets would be dirty and ill-paved — often beset by pigs in lieu of scavengers; but everywhere there would be bustling human life with every citizen elbowing close to everybody else. Out of the foul streets here and there would rise parish churches of marvelous architecture, and in the center of the town extended the great square — marketplace — where the open-air markets would be held, and close by it, dwarfing the lesser churches, the tall gray cathedral, — the pride of the community; close by, also, **the City Hall** (*Hôtel de Ville*, or, in Germany, *Rathhaus*), an elegant secular edifice, where the council met, where the great public feasts could take place, and above which rose the mighty belfry, whence clanged the great alarm-bell to call the citizens together in mass meeting, or to don armor and man the walls. The magnificent houses, walls, churches, and civic buildings of Nuremberg (South Germany), as they stand to-day, testify to the glories



of many of the greater mediæval cities toward the end of the Middle Ages.

**76. The cities of Flanders.** In one northern country the free cities came almost to dominate the whole political situation. The Counts of **Flanders** were nominally vassals of the Kings of France, but during the period 1200 to 1400, or later, their power was greatly curtailed by the growth of the **great manufacturing towns**,

which reached such a size and power that only by calling in French help was the count able to keep them in any kind of formal obedience. The prosperity of Flanders rested on the manufacture of **woolens** (the first great manufacturing industry of northern Europe). The importation of wool from England gave employment for many vessels.<sup>1</sup> Thousands of looms in **Ypres, Ghent**, and especially **Bruges**, made these cities among the wealthiest in the

world until the fifteenth century, when they receded before the rapid rise of **Antwerp**. All kinds of commerce followed this woollen trade. The cities of the neighboring land of Holland were growing rich on the trade in North Sea her-



LENDIT FAIR IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(After a miniature representing the blessing of the Fair by St. Denis, in a Latin manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale)

<sup>1</sup> Usually sent out by the North German cities of the "Hanseatic League." (See chapter XIX, section 120, footnote.)



ring.<sup>1</sup> The whole region of the "Low Countries" became, in short, the center for a number of city-republics, highly intelligent, conscious of their might and restive of feudal domination. The Flemings even defied the whole power of the Kings of France, and in 1302 the army of the French chivalry was disgracefully routed by the Flemish citizens (at the battle of Courtrai). In due time the Flemings were reduced again to French overlordship; but never to shameful vassalage. The "Low Countries" kept their wealth and their liberties until, in the sixteenth century, they fought the battle of freedom for all the world when they broke the power of Spain.

**77. Venice and Florence.** In Italy, two city-states demand more than a passing word. About 452, when Attila's hordes devastated Italy,<sup>2</sup> the tradition runs that desperate fugitives took refuge on the small islands at the head of the Adriatic Sea. The settlements they founded became united under the name of **Venice**. At first this maritime republic professed loyalty to the Emperors of Constantinople; but by 1100 (or earlier), Venice was well able to stand alone — **a proud and independent city-state, ruled by a despotic but highly intelligent and enterprising oligarchy**. Venetian merchant ships covered the Mediterranean. Venice held nearly all the Greek islands in her possession; her naval power for long checked the advancing Turks; while thanks to her great Oriental trade she truly "held the Golden East in fee." The beauty of the palaces of her merchant princes has become traditional. In 1450, she was by all odds **the wealthiest, the most luxurious, the most formidable city in Europe**.

Her rival in wealth was inland **Florence**. **Banking and manufacturing had made Florence powerful**. Her government was more democratic than that of Venice; her history is a long story

<sup>1</sup> The numerous and strictly observed fast days of the mediæval Church made the trade in *fish* relatively more important than it is to-day.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 14.



of civic feuds, revolutions, banishments, "returns of exiles," conspiracies. About 1434, she fell under the control (at first purely unofficial) of the famous **Medici** family (originally bankers) who governed in the main with skill and moderation. Florence was the strongest power in North Central Italy, but her true title to fame was not her riches or her valiant generals. Florence was the birthplace of poets, artists, and scholars, who



TRADE ROUTES AND COMMERCIAL CITIES

have made their native city almost a rival of Athens in her contributions to civilization.<sup>1</sup>

**78. The revival of commerce and industry.** In the later Middle Ages, despite bad roads, bad inns, bad bridges,<sup>2</sup> bandits

<sup>1</sup> Mention might also be made in this age of Genoa, a proud naval and commercial republic, that almost distanced Venice in the struggle for maritime supremacy, but at the last test failed.

<sup>2</sup> The mediæval bridges were in the average so bad and perilous that we



and "robber knights," commerce was again reviving. Spices, carpets, silks, and "Damascus steel" weapons were imported from the Orient. The merchant vessels began feeling their way along the coast, and as ships became larger and stancher, their captains grew bolder. From Venice or Genoa a considerable caravan trade also found its way over the Alps, to Lyons in France, or to the German Augsburg or Nuremberg, which became centers for an active commerce. The Rhine, the Danube, and the great French rivers became covered with freight boats and barges.<sup>1</sup> In the larger cities famous **fairs** sprang up, where merchants from all Europe and the nearer Orient came together to interchange alike new commodities and new ideas. Gradually, too, men learned to put aside the prejudice against lending money at interest ("usury") which had been forbidden by the Church in the earlier Middle Ages. Great credit transactions and an elaborate banking system had developed, at least in Italy, by the time Columbus discovered America.<sup>2</sup> All this meant another step in human progress.

Commerce (the importation of foreign wares) came first. The next step was to try to imitate or improve upon the foreign importations. **From 1200 onward, there is a great revival of European industry**, and all the arts and crafts improve. Manufacturing is usually, indeed, on a small scale: the "master," with a few "apprentices" and "journeymen" (wage-workers),

find in the prayer-books formulas for "commending one's soul to God ere starting to cross a bridge."

<sup>1</sup> River navigation played an extremely important part in commerce before the days of railroads. Nearly all the great mediæval cities lie upon navigable rivers.

<sup>2</sup> It was regularly agreed that money was a barren thing — it could not grow of itself — how, then, was it right to demand interest "to make money breed money?" The Church practically forbade Christians to lend at interest. The result was that about all lending transactions had to be through *Jews* ("who had no souls to lose!"), who had to demand a tremendous interest because they often lacked the legal means to collect their debts, and had to recoup themselves for their losses. The Jews were practically forced to become money-lenders. They were not allowed to enter the feudal system and hold land, and they had no other way to invest their wealth.



makes in the rear of the little shop the articles which he sells at retail over the counter in front: the prices, however, the manufacturing methods, the whole mode of trade is controlled by the "guild" to which they all belong — a kind of labor-union, but managed by the employers.

By 1500, in brief, the merchants and the craftsmen have won back the place they once held in Græco-Roman society, as important parts of the body politic. During the next four centuries they are to grow continually in strength until they seem to overshadow alike the old nobles, the churchmen, and the peasants.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Serf; Free Peasant; Villein; Commune; Burghers; Burgher-master; Podestà; City Hall; Medici; Guild.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Nuremberg; Flanders (see map on page 256); Ghent; Bruges; Antwerp; Holland; Courtrai; Venice; Florence; Augsburg; Lyons; Genoa.
  - (b) Mark the trade routes.
3. Position of the villeins in mediæval society. Were their masters under any obligations to them?
4. How might the serfs become free?
5. Make a summary of the reasons for the rise of the agricultural classes.
6. What were the causes of the revival of city life?
7. What rights were ordinarily given to the cities by the charters?
8. If the "free towns" were so objectionable to the nobles and clergy, and if these were so much more powerful than the non-noble class, why were the "free towns" allowed?
9. Describe the government of the chartered towns.
10. What conditions made the cities of Flanders so powerful? What changes in these conditions would lessen the power and importance of the Flemish cities?
11. What part had Venice taken in the crusades?
12. What difficulties were in the way of commerce in the Middle Ages?
13. What was the objection to charging interest on money? What was the result?
14. Compare the guild with a modern labor union.



## EXERCISES

1. Obligations of the peasants to their lords.
2. Occupations of the workers in the Middle Ages.
3. The life on the manor.
4. Town halls of the Middle Ages.
5. The government of Venice. Compare with that of Florence.
6. The expansion of Venetian territory.
7. Rivalry of Venice and Genoa.
8. The Medici family.
9. What "poets, artists, and scholars" made Florence almost a rival of Athens?
10. What goods were exchanged between northern and southern Europe?
11. Famous fairs.
12. Position of the Jews. Did the Crusades affect their position?
13. Merchant and craft guilds.
14. The Hanseatic League.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter xx. Robinson: nos. 157-71.

*Modern accounts.* Bémont and Monod: pp. 375-90. Seignobos: pp. 67-71, 88-89, 115-17, 140-46, 164-72. Emerton: chapter xv. Gibbins: pp. 36-101. Seignobos: *Feudal Régime*, chapter I.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE POPES, THE EMPERORS, AND THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

79. "*The freedom of the Church.*" In 1056, died the Emperor Henry III, in whose reign the government of the Holy Roman Empire had seemed about to establish its complete domination over the Papacy and the entire Western Church. The Emperor had removed and named Popes even as he might secular officials. He had filled up the German and Italian bishoprics (with their great princely as well as spiritual powers) with appointees devoted to his interests. **Was not the whole Church on the point of being "captured" by the temporal government?** Was not "Cæsar" about to dominate "Christ"? This interference of the State in the Church was, indeed, deplored by almost every pious churchman, yet for the moment there seemed no avoiding it. The Church, and its central office, the Papacy, had become demoralized and discredited. Until there had been a new spirit put into the whole organization it was useless to expect the State to cease its "unholy" intermeddling.

But the Church had still its millions of zealous supporters. **A great reform movement** was about to purify the whole mighty fabric, and make the Empire tremble in turn before the Papacy.<sup>1</sup> Some of the reforms demanded were these: —

(a) An orderly method must be provided for the election of Popes: hitherto they had been too often the choice of a riotous faction in Rome.

(b) "Simony" (i.e., the sale of Church offices), a common scandal, must be ended.

<sup>1</sup> This reform movement is commonly considered to have started at the great and influential monastery of *Cluny* in France: hence it is sometimes called the "Cluny Movement."



(c) The marriage of the clergy (denounced now as a crying sin) must cease.<sup>1</sup>

(d) The investiture (i.e., confirmation in office of bishops) by laymen must also end.

These various demands were all summed up in the call for the "freedom of the Church": — that is, its exemption from secular interference, and the reform program found a notable champion — Hildebrand.

**80. Hildebrand: as monk and as Pope-maker.** To a certain individual humbly born at Saona, Italy, about 1020, the mediæval Papacy owes more than to any other one man.<sup>2</sup> Hildebrand spent his youth as a monk at Rome, witnessing the worldly abuses and confusions of the Church, but also busying himself in maturing plans to right them. "His was that rarest and grandest of gifts, an intellectual courage and power of imaginative belief which, when it has convinced itself of aught, shrinks not from acting upon it at once." He was not a mere dreamer, but he combined with the typical monk's contemplation a **notable ability as a constructive statesman**; he was a manipulator of men, a leader who could fire others with his own high courage, and a combatant who never spared a foe, nor himself, in what he considered the war for righteousness.

Beginning with 1048, he became the indispensable adviser to several very worthy Popes who were striving to execute the reform program in the Church. After 1056, when the death of Henry III left the Empire in weak hands and relieved the Papacy from governmental interference, Hildebrand was able

<sup>1</sup> Up to this time the marriage of bishops had been absolutely forbidden, but in many sections the marriage of ordinary priests had been at least winked at. Besides the objections which the Catholic Church still urges against clerical marriage, another one could be advanced in the Middle Ages — that if priests were allowed to raise families, inevitably (under feudal conditions) their sons would soon *inherit* their Church offices, and the priesthood would become an arrogant "priestly caste" like the Brahmans of India.

<sup>2</sup> In his later career his name did not fail to be seized upon by his enemies for ill-natured puns, *Hildebrand* = *Brand of Hell!* etc.



to carry out his policy with drastic thoroughness. Thanks to his sagacious counsel, **the Popes of the day reasserted their old leadership over the Church**; and it was established that the Popes must be elected in a peaceable and proper matter by the cardinals.<sup>1</sup> Papal "legates" (deputies) visited different parts of Germany and Italy and held synods wherein the "simoniacal" and otherwise unworthy bishops were disciplined or deposed. The decrees against clerical marriage were sternly enforced despite much outcry and, no doubt, suffering on the part of the unfortunate priests called upon to "put away their concubines" — their wives.

In 1073, the Church had largely purged itself, and was prepared to attack the great problem of secular interference in its policies. In that year Hildebrand himself became Pope.

**81. Henry IV and his bad rule in Germany.** While this monk, "small of stature but with a lion's soul," was lifting again the power of the Papacy, the one-time dominator thereof — the Empire — was falling into an evil case. **Henry IV** (1056–1106), son of Henry III, was not by any means cowardly or incapable, but from his early youth he was taught to consider himself "monarch of all the world," and to indulge in very ignoble pleasures; while his German realm was run by regents, usually politically minded bishops who perpetrated acts of tyranny in his name and brought the imperial power into disrepute. When Henry became of age and ruler in his own right, things went no better. He was himself a Franconian (Central German): by 1073 he had goaded the Saxons (North Germans) into revolt.<sup>2</sup> After some fighting he gained a temporary

<sup>1</sup> Every student should investigate the origin and nature of the "College of Cardinals." It is an essential part of the government of the Catholic Church to-day. (See any good encyclopedia.)

<sup>2</sup> The Saxons had never forgotten that they were the original imperial race of the Ottos; and they took very ill the domination of their rivals of Franconia. But apart from this jealousy, Henry's rule had been blundering if not tyrannical.



mastery over the rebels; but his power was in a feeble way when he collided with Hildebrand.

**82. *The humiliation at Canossa.*** Hildebrand took the title of **Gregory VII** (1073-85). As Pope his real power in the Church was not made greater than it was formerly, but became more recognized. All the earlier lines of reform were followed with new zeal, but especially **Gregory undertook to strike the practice of lay investiture.** So long as princes, and the Emperor in particular, kept the power to give or withhold from a newly made bishop the "temporalities" (i.e., the feudal powers and territorial wealth of a bishopric), just so long would they retain a firm grip on the actual appointment of the bishops and fill the great positions of the Church with unspiritual politicians.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, with the bishops holding about the same secular powers as the feudal princes, and with a large fraction of the whole realm actually under their control, the naming of them was a very vital matter to the Emperor. A great conflict was absolutely certain.

Gregory began by treating Henry IV with moderation, but in 1075, he issued a decree from Rome forbidding any lay ruler to presume to invest a bishop, and forbidding any churchman to accept "lay investiture." The blow was very clearly aimed at Henry, who was not minded to give up the long-standing usage of the Crown touching this most valuable kind of patronage. After a little correspondence, both parties drifted to open war. The many prelates who dreaded a reform of the Church egged Henry on to defy Gregory to do his worst, and to order "Hildebrand" to "quit the Papacy which he had usurped." **Gregory's answer was a sentence of anathema and excommunication.** Speaking as the Vicar of Christ, set above all

<sup>1</sup> Theoretically the bishop would be chosen "by the clergy and people" of his diocese. Practically these would never elect a man unless the prince was sure to confirm him, otherwise he would never receive an essential part of his temporal property and power. The result would be that the prince really named the new bishop.



kings and emperors, Gregory "prohibited Henry from ruling in Germany and Italy," and "released all Christian men from the obligation of their oaths to him." "I forbid all men to serve him as king,<sup>1</sup> and I bind him with the bonds of the anathema."

Almost instantly at these dread thunders Henry's cowardly adherents in the Church fell away, while the Saxons rose against him. He was declared suspended from his kingly functions, and it was proposed to hold a council in Germany to try him for his crimes, with the Pope as actual president of the council.

To escape this certain doom Henry hastened almost untended over the Alps in midwinter, and **presented himself before Gregory at Canossa**, an Italian castle where the Pope was halting on his way north. Three days in biting winter weather the man who claimed to inherit the power of Augustus and of Charlemagne waited barefoot in the snow entreating "entrance" and "absolution" from the stern-visaged Pope. At last Gregory yielded, though misdoubting the king's loud professions of penitence. Henry was admitted and after manifold pledges absolved.

Thus "**Cæsar**" literally **prostrated himself before "Peter"** — the humbly born monk of Saona: a proclamation to all the world of the victory of the spiritual over the temporal power! It was the greatest moment of outward triumph ever enjoyed by any Pope, and in some ways the most typical and significant scene in the entire Middle Ages.

**83. *The end of the investiture contest.*** The glory for the hour was with Gregory, but not the entire advantage. He had humiliated Henry too much, and laid himself open to the charge of un-Christian pride. There was a reaction of public opinion in Germany in the king's favor. He was able to

<sup>1</sup> Henry IV had not yet been crowned in Rome, and so was technically only "king" and not "emperor"; his actual power, however, was practically the same.



reassemble armies and defy again both his rebel nobles and the Pope. Gregory's second anathema did not wither Henry's power as did the first. The king beat down the Saxon malcontents, and in 1081 again went into Italy — this time with an army. He besieged Gregory in Rome and actually captured the greater part of the city, and had himself crowned "Emperor" by an anti-Pope of his own creation. He was obliged soon to retire northward, but Gregory's position in Rome had become untenable and he was forced to take refuge with his South Italian ally, the Prince of Naples.

In 1085, the great Pope passed away at Salerno. Almost at the end he renewed the ban upon Henry. Proud and defiant were his final words: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore, I die in exile." He had for the moment failed in his attempt to set the Pope as an arbiter over kings, but it was a magnificent failure.

In 1106, Henry IV died, banned by the Church and at war with his own son. In 1122, this son (Henry V) ended the "investiture conflict" by a treaty (**Concordat of Worms**) with the Pope. Both parties were weary of the contest and glad of a compromise. The Emperor was to cease to "invest" bishops, but still retained some control upon their choosing, so that he could hamper the election of downright enemies.

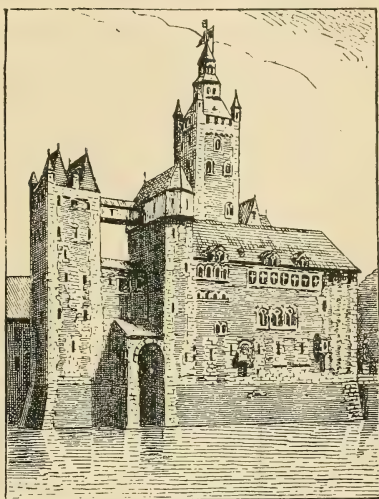
**84. St. Bernard of Clairvaux.** Gregory VII had been premature in trying so abruptly to make the Pope and the Church dominators over the feudal princes, but his example had been notable and not in vain. Never was the Church stronger than in the twelfth century. The crusades, indeed, redounded greatly to the glory of the Papacy, but from about 1120 to his death (1153), **the most influential man in Christendom** was not the Pope, but a great Abbot, — **St. Bernard of Clairvaux**, — a French monk of remarkable piety, spirituality, and withal worldly wisdom. His moral leadership was such that he was practically able to decide between rival candidates to the



Papacy, to give good advice (gratefully received) to the Popes themselves, to control the councils of kings, and to set in motion by his eloquence the Second Crusade.<sup>1</sup> This "mellifluous doctor" was really the first man of his age: a wonderful testimony to the manner in which the moral ideals upheld by the mediæval Church were able to dominate a society just emerging from feudal violence.

**85. Frederick I (Barbarossa)** — (1152-90). After the end of the investiture struggle, the Emperors are for some time unimportant. They were really only elective feudal kings of Germany, with a very weak hold upon their subjects there, and a still weaker hold upon Italy — although in theory they were still "Cæsars," "Lords of all the World": but the Middle Ages were accustomed to rulers of mighty claims and very limited power. In 1152, however, the German princes elected a man of a bolder stamp, **Frederick Barbarossa** ("Red-Beard"), who made a decisive bid for all the old authority of Charlemagne and of the Ottos.

The new ruler was of the famous **Hohenstaufen** (South German) family — "the most gifted race which ever reigned in Germany." He was a man of soaring ambition, of truly



THE CASTLE OF FREDERICK  
BARBAROSSA

At Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. (*Restoration after Jäger.*)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 102. Besides being a prolific theological writer and carrying on a vast correspondence, Bernard was the author of many beautiful hymns. His *Jesu, Dulcis Memoria* ("Jesus, the very thought of thee," etc.) is sung to-day in many churches, Protestant and Catholic.



noble physical presence, and able to command enthusiasm, sometimes cruel, yet magnanimous and never petty.<sup>1</sup> His reign is the story of many attempts, sometimes nearly successful, to rivet his power especially upon northern Italy. Once he actually destroyed the great city of Milan (1162), and seemed to have all the rich city-republics of Lombardy at his feet. But the Italian free towns loathed the domination of the hated "Northerners" from Germany; while the Papacy trembled at Frederick's growing power, and made common cause with the "Lombard League"<sup>2</sup> against him. In Germany, the great duke of united Saxony and Bavaria, Henry the Lion, also undermined his power. At **Legnano** (1176), the Lombard cities routed Frederick's army, and he was forced to grant them their independence in all but name.<sup>3</sup> His power was not ruined, however. In Germany, he humiliated Henry the Lion and restored his own authority; in southern Italy, he married his son (Henry VI) to the heiress of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Everything was ripe for a new attack on Italy when the Emperor felt constrained to depart upon the Third Crusade, in which he perished.

**86. Innocent III (1198-1216) arbiter over kings.** Frederick Barbarossa had almost restored the Empire to its state of domination over the Church even as before the days of Gregory VII, but now Heaven again glorified the Papacy. Frederick's very capable son, Henry VI, soon died, during an attempt to seize his wife's inheritance in Sicily.<sup>4</sup> His death

<sup>1</sup> Probably Frederick Barbarossa fills the imagination more completely with all that is implied by the term "mediæval emperor" than any other ruler except Charlemagne.

<sup>2</sup> A federation of North Italian city-states for mutual protection. By its united efforts Milan was rebuilt in 1167 as a necessary bulwark against the Emperor.

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor retained some unsubstantial rights of confirming their magistrates.

<sup>4</sup> It was vastly for the Emperor's advantage (and the Pope's disadvantage) to secure Sicily and southern Italy (then united in one kingdom). The Imperialists could then threaten Rome from both north and south.



delivered Germany over to a ruinous civil war between rival kings and gave to a great Pope his opportunity. **Innocent III** was not, perhaps, the ablest Pope who ever reigned, but he made high-minded and statesmanlike use of his office to exalt every papal pretension. Using with full effect the awful weapon of excommunication and anathema, he in turn **humiliated the Kings of England and France and forced them to bow to his demands**, asserted the rights of decision and leadership in almost every great question of the day, and claimed the power to arbitrate between the contending rivals in Germany. Boldly he announced his theory, — “ God has instituted two high dignities: the Papacy which rules over the *souls* of men; the Monarchy which rules over their *bodies*. But . . . as the moon receives its light from the sun, **so does the royal power derive all its glory and dignity from the papal power.**”

In 1212, the Emperor, Otto IV, ceased to be on friendly terms with Innocent, who thereupon showed that his claims were not mere theories, by giving his blessing and authorization to the claims of young Frederick II (son of the late Henry VI).<sup>1</sup> Frederick crossed the Alps from Italy, and aided by the mighty influence of the Church soon ruined his enemy's power.<sup>2</sup> Otto died in 1218, with only a few faithful castles still left to him. Innocent had passed away two years earlier. No personage since the days of Charlemagne had exercised such power as did he. What Gregory VII had attempted seemed now almost to be fulfilled.

**87. Frederick II (1212-50), the “ wonder of the world.”** Could Innocent III have read the future he would not have died happy. **Young Frederick II proved to be a deadly foe to the Papacy**, and one of the succeeding Popes was of pliable stuff. Frederick himself was a man of remarkable capacity and

<sup>1</sup> Otto had been recognized by all Germany, since 1208 (the date of the death of the rival claimant, Philip of Swabia). Young Frederick II had been growing up meanwhile in Sicily, the kingdom he inherited through his mother.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the battle of Bouvines, which helped ruin Otto, see p. 89.



versatility; he had been bred in half-Oriental Sicily, and never felt at home in his cold realms of the North, which he must from time to time visit. He was a troubadour of no mean ability. He loved to converse with misbelieving Arabian men of science and letters. He spoke many tongues. His religious views were liberal and extremely unorthodox.<sup>1</sup> His private morals were lax; his court was gay, luxurious, and wicked; he preferred an armed force of Saracen mercenaries to the regular feudal armies;<sup>2</sup> his governmental methods were those of an enlightened, clever, but extremely arbitrary and cruel, despot. The "wonder of the world" his admiring courtiers called him: the "first modern man" some later historians have named him; — in any case, it is certain that both in his virtues and in his vices he was born entirely ahead of his age.

Relatively little of Frederick's life was spent in Germany, where he let the feudal princes do much as they would, while he concentrated his main efforts on Italy. From 1227 to 1250, his reign was one desperate contest with the Popes, broken only by intermittent truces. It was no one question that was at stake, but the whole issue, whether any secular sovereign could become so powerful in Italy as to be able to keep the Papacy hopelessly in leading-strings. In open warfare and less bloody intrigue, Frederick was for long victorious, but like his grandfather (Frederick I) he goaded the Lombard cities into revolt, and their hostility finally made victory incline to the Papacy. In 1245, the Council of Lyons put him under the most complete outlawry of the Church. In 1250, still contending desperately in arms, the Emperor died, "taking," so his delighted foes proclaimed, "nothing with him to hell but his

<sup>1</sup> It was currently reported among his horror-stricken enemies that he said there had been three capital deceivers — Moses, Mohammed, and Christ. This did not prevent him from trying to conciliate the Church by exceedingly severe laws for the punishment of heretics.

<sup>2</sup> His preference for the Saracens, no doubt, was because *they* surely would not be "loosed from their allegiance" by the papal ban, under which Frederick rested for much of his life!



sins." With him practically ended the "great" period of the mediæval Empire, and its bid for world sovereignty.

**88. *The triumph of the Church.*** Frederick II's last legitimate son died in 1254. In 1268, Conradin, his young grandson, perished in a vain attempt to seize his ancestor's kingdom in Sicily; and no male representative of "the accursed and heretical spawn of the Hohenstaufen" was left to menace the Papacy. A French dynasty had (at the papal invitation) already seized southern Italy and Sicily. In Germany, civil war raged between pretenders to the crown. Not for many years was the Papacy really to fear an "Emperor" who could abridge its powers and freedom of action. In truth, a great page of human history had been closed. **The dream of a universal empire founded upon the elective feudal kingship in Germany had ended in sheer disaster.** When the Germanic kings ought to have been strengthening their power at home, they had been chasing the imperial will-o'-the-wisp in Italy.

Their attempt had been broken upon the resistance of the Papacy and the hatred of Italians for German domination. The failure left Germany still a dissevered feudal country, with its "Emperor" only the pretentious head of a weak confederation of princes: while in Italy there was even greater disunion without any common monarch at all.



POPE CLEMENT IV (1265-1268)

Endowing Charles of Anjou, by a papal bull, with the crown of the Two Sicilies. (From a fresco at Pernes (Vaucluse), France)



The Papacy seemed for the moment triumphant. As a matter of fact, while it had been beating down the Germans, a new power had been rising to prominence — France; and before the swelling power of the French monarchy, the Popes were soon to learn how groundless were their hopes of becoming secular dominators of the world with its kings their obedient deputies.

**89. *St. Francis and his friars.*** The clang and clash of the wars of the Popes and the Emperors fills much of the thirteenth century, but it was by no means an age of naught but struggle and confusion. In the reign of the great Innocent III himself began a new phase of the old monastic movement which soon put its impress upon almost the whole intellectual and spiritual life of Europe. In 1182, was born at Assisi (in Umbria, in Italy) **St. Francis, one of the most beautiful and refreshing characters in all history.** Before he died in 1226, he had founded the “Franciscan Order of Friars,” which is a great force in the Catholic Church unto this day.

St. Francis was an enthusiast, but an enthusiast able to make men love him, follow him, submit to him. He began as a young man by giving up his hopes for a martial career and becoming a religious hermit; but not, however, as a selfish recluse who in his secluded cell “fled the world,” and sought merely for his own salvation. St. Francis declared that all men, even the vilest, were his brothers; and he often spent his days in pauper hospitals and in caring for lepers. He took the Bible injunctions against riches literally. He and his followers slept in haystacks or lepers’ hovels, and repudiated every kind of property save only the most necessary garments; while “**Holy Poverty**” he declared to be “his bride.” His great effort was not only to **preach** morality, but so to **exemplify in his own life the spirit of Christ** as to carry the Gospel throughout the sinful world. “To preach the Gospel and to bear Christ’s cross” was the real summing-up of his rules for



his brethren; and in all his efforts he displayed a serene cheerfulness, a childlike trust in God and love for his fellow men which make men of a far later age dwell on his career with admiring delight.

Innocent III at first looked askance at the proposition to sanction this new movement. The Church seemed to have already too many orders of monks: but Francis was tremendously in earnest with his petition for a papal confirmation,<sup>1</sup> and Innocent was statesman enough to see the value of such enthusiasm placed at the disposal of the Church. The confirmation was granted. Instantly Francis's brotherhood grew by leaps and bounds. Before he died his "friars" (brothers)<sup>2</sup> were active in every Christian land.

Francis himself was too impractical really to systematize the great movement which he had started. Much to his distress the "Franciscans" had to be organized, under a "general," with lesser officers. The rules he established enjoining absolute poverty were so austere that they had to be somewhat relaxed.<sup>3</sup> A man who spoke of the sun and moon as his personal "brother" and "sister," and who literally delivered eloquent sermons to "our sisters the birds," was surely not an adept in worldly wisdom! Nevertheless, the influence of his example was tremendous. The beauty and unselfishness of his life made him the greatest saint of the Middle Ages, and it was long before his followers lost the glow of his spirituality.

Almost simultaneously with Francis, **the Spaniard Dominic (1170-1221) was founding the Dominican order** of friars, a

<sup>1</sup> The tale runs that Innocent said to Francis, "Go, brother: go roll in the mud with the pigs, and to *them* set forth the doctrines you have so admirably expounded"; and speedily Francis returned, saying, "My lord — I have done so."

<sup>2</sup> The original name for the Franciscans was the "little brethren"; i.e., Francis did not consider them worthy to be ranked beside the "Great" (ordinary) monks of the older orders.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Franciscans obtained the possession of convents by some such device as letting the Pope *own* the convent, while the friars had merely the *use* of it. Later the Popes refused to act as trustees for the order, and the Franciscans were obliged to strain their rules and actually own their monasteries.



less sympathetic but an almost equally powerful order, on much the same lines as those of Francis, only laying less stress on poverty, and more on theological learning and on formal pulpit eloquence, in order to combat the heresies of the day.

It is impossible to overestimate the influence of this friar movement:<sup>1</sup> a large fraction of the best intellects of the later Middle Ages found its way into one or the other of these new orders. Between them they vastly purified the Church, and perhaps long postponed the Protestant Reformation.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Simony; Lay Investiture; "Freedom of the Church"; Cluny; Henry IV; Gregory VII; "Temporalities"; Excommunication; Canossa; Concordat of Worms; Bernard of Clairvaux; Frederick Barbarossa; Lombard League; Legnano; Henry the Lion; Innocent III; Frederick II; Conradin; St. Francis; St. Dominic; Mendicant Orders.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Canossa; Clairvaux; Milan; Assisi.
  - (b) Mark the towns of the Lombard League.
  - (c) Mark the bounds of the Empire under the Hohenstaufen Emperors.
3. The relations of Empire and Church at the death of Henry III.
4. What were the objects of the Cluny Reform?
5. Why did Hildebrand have such enormous influence before he became Pope?
6. What were the aims and ideals of the mediæval Emperors as compared with the mediæval Popes? Why were these aims and ideals wholly incompatible?
7. What were the causes of the "Investiture Conflict"?
8. What was the significance of the event at Canossa?
9. Why was it that "Gregory's second anathema did not wither Henry's power as did the first"?
10. Why did St. Bernard have more influence than any of the Popes of his time?
11. Summarize the reasons for Frederick I's failure to "rivet his power" upon Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> The friars' orders are often called the *mendicant orders*, because Francis and Dominic allowed their followers to go about begging from the charitable for their own sustenance and in behalf of the poor.



12. The power and influence of Innocent III.
13. The character of Frederick II. How do you explain it?
14. The character of St. Francis.
15. What was the importance of the work of the friars?

## EXERCISES

1. The Cluny Program.
2. The College of Cardinals.
3. Hildebrand's work before he became Pope.
4. The event at Canossa.
5. Compare the Concordat of Worms with the agreement between Henry I of England and Anselm.
6. Is it likely that St. Bernard would have retained his great influence if he had been chosen Pope? Why?
7. Compare Innocent III with Gregory VII. Which was more successful? Why?
8. Frederick II. His reforms in Sicily.
9. Was it possible for Emperor and Pope to be on friendly terms? Compare their relations with the relations between the Kings of France and of England during the period when England held lands in France.
10. The "Rule" of St. Francis.
11. How did friars differ from monks?
12. The Albigensians.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapters XV, XVI, XX, section 58; XXII, XXIV, sections 71-72. Robinson: nos. 107-22, 146-56.

*Modern Accounts.* Bémont and Monod: pp. 286-335, 479-87, 488-514. Seignobos: pp. 97-109, 160-63. Emerton: chapters VII-X. Pattison: pp. 58-86, 114-43. Lewis: pp. 161-234.



## CHAPTER XV

### THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

90. *The causes and contestants.* At the beginning of the fourteenth century both England and France had become in a way true "nations," not merely "feudal kingdoms." As near neighbors, each filled with enterprising peoples and ruled by ambitious kings, frequent collisions (under mediæval conditions) were inevitable; especially as the English still held



ENGLISH KNIGHTS AND A FRENCH MAN-AT-ARMS  
The figure to the left wears civilian costume

considerable territory in southern France. A disputed succession in France, however, in which England was interested, now gave especial animus to the rivalry.<sup>1</sup> From 1338 to 1453, England and France were at war or merely in a state of armed truce.

This "Hundred Years' War"<sup>2</sup>—long, bloody, and devastating—threatened once or twice to reduce France to a mere dependency of England. In the end, the English attack failed,

<sup>1</sup> There were plenty of reasons why a general collision was unavoidable. The French wished to expel the English from Gascony, and were helping the Scots, the enemies of England. They were also interfering in the important English wool trade with Flanders.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, it really lasted more than one hundred years. On the other hand, fortunately, the warfare was by no means continuous.



but only after France had undergone a terrible ordeal while trying to save her national existence. It was one of the most useless great wars in all history.

The immediate excuse for the war was the claim which Edward III of England asserted to the crown of France in the name of his mother Isabella, daughter of the French King Philip IV. According to the pretended "Salic law,"<sup>1</sup> women were excluded from the French throne; but did the prohibition also exclude their male heirs? If so, Philip of Valois (a French prince by a side-line) had the better claim when the direct Capetian line died out (1328). If not, then Edward's pretensions were at least plausible. The law was not clear, and precedents were few. Edward could well persuade himself that he ought to reign in Paris as well as in London.

In this contest France seemed by far the larger and richer country, but her opponents were more united and decidedly better disciplined. Above all, in the actual fighting the English made use of a special type of soldier — the **yeoman archer**. The terrible **English longbow** with its "clothyard arrow," had only recently been developed in all its possibilities. The trained archers could accomplish therewith marvels in the way of accuracy and penetration.<sup>2</sup> These men (recruited from the hitherto despised peasant class) had the mounted mail-clad knight — who was still the pride and stay of the French armies —

<sup>1</sup> The name arose from the alleged derivation of the law from the old Salian Franks. It was really a law of exceedingly doubtful validity and application, but there were many practical reasons for objecting to the rule of a woman in a turbulent mediæval kingdom. Probably, if Edward had been a Frenchman, his case would have been more favorably considered at the outset; but the French nobles had just reasons for objecting to have a foreign-born king come to rule over them.

<sup>2</sup> The yew bow was about six feet long, and so powerful that it required a careful training as well as considerable strength to be able to bend it. Such a weapon had almost the range of an old-style musket, and could penetrate all but the best armor. If the latter was "proof," the archer could at least aim with deadly precision at the eye-holes in his opponent's helmet. Scott gives an admirable idea of the capabilities of the English bowmen in his *Ivanhoe*.



almost at their mercy. Destroying the monopoly of martial prowess hitherto held by the feudal nobility was a **distinct step toward the coming of general democracy.**

91. *The Crécy campaign* (1346). Edward III became King of England in 1327 and saw his rival Philip (of Valois) accepted

as sovereign of France in 1328. He was then too young and too much involved in home troubles to assert his own claims, and in fact actually did homage to Philip for his South French lands; but in 1339, he was able to conduct an invasion of France. Edward's first campaigns were unskillful and led to little, but he presently developed into an accomplished warrior. In 1346, he led an army across the north of France, ravaging up to the walls of Paris. Such a defiance Philip VI (a brave, showy, but not very capable prince) could not tolerate. He



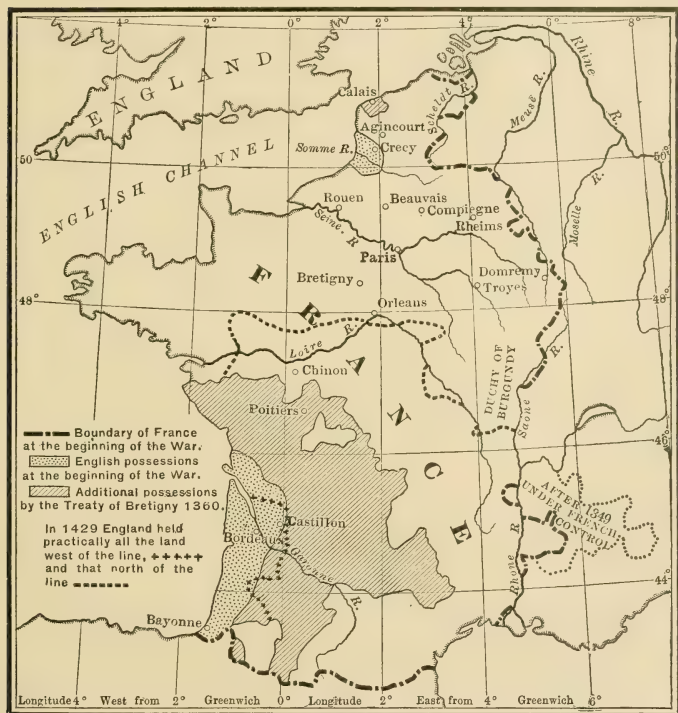
HORSEMAN IN FULL ARMOR

Period of the Hundred Years' War. Note that delicate plate-mail has now replaced the earlier ring-mail. This was the highest development of the armorers' art, which reached its perfection just before the coming of gunpowder. (*From a restoration in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris*)

called out all the magnificent feudal chivalry of the land, and started after Edward as he marched northward. At **Crécy** in Picardy, the two armies met, and with headlong valor the French knights strove to ride down the serried lines of English archers, stiffened by thin companies of dismounted men-at-arms.



The slaughter wrought by the long bows was horrible. The French fell in heaps, shot down usually before they could even strike their lances against the terrible bowmen. Twelve hundred knights, thirty thousand rank and file of the attackers, are said to have perished, ere the remnant of Philip's army drifted away in rout. Edward pursued his march to the seaboard, and



FRANCE DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

after a long siege took **Calais** (1347) — an important port opposite England. He held now a door into France, a convenient base for any subsequent attack toward Normandy and Paris.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Calais remained in English hands until 1558. During the entire interval it was a thorn in the side of the French.



92. *Poitiers and the Treaty of Bretigny.* Further campaigning was suspended for the time being by the direful "**Black Death**," a pestilence from the Orient which now swept over Europe (1348) and smote victor and vanquished alike. One third of the whole population of Europe is alleged to have died, and in some districts probably more than half of all the inhabitants. Such a visitation, of course, disorganized alike warfare and peaceful commerce and agriculture.<sup>1</sup> Yet in a short time the contest was renewed. The English kings had always kept a part of the old Angevin dominions in Guienne. Now the "**Black Prince**," the capable son of Edward III,<sup>2</sup> conducted a ravaging campaign from the southward, working into the very heart of France. Philip VI had been succeeded by his son **John** (1350-64), a king with little to commend him save headlong valor. At **Poitiers** (1356), John confronted the Black Prince with a greatly superior army, but threw away all his advantages by a series of utterly blundering frontal attacks. Again the bowmen shot with terrible advantage. When the day ended, eleven thousand French lay on the field, and the English held several thousand prisoners, including King John himself.

Edward had now become convinced that he could hardly conquer the whole of France, but after several years' captivity, John in turn was glad to purchase peace by the **Treaty of Bretigny** (1360). He kept his crown, indeed, but had to pay an enormous ransom and to cede to England a great block of territory south of the Loire. When he died, his kingdom was thus dismembered, and the remnant of it was oppressed by taxation, and rent by the wars of the lawless nobles, who were vexing the country even more than the English.

93. *Charles V (1364-80) and the first expulsion of the Eng-*

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xvi, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> His real name was *Edward*, but he was named the "Black Prince" from the armor which he usually wore. He was above the average of mediæval warrior in really soldierly qualities.



*lish*. John's successor was his son **Charles V**, surnamed the "Wise," or, perhaps more happily, the "Adroit." There was nothing heroic about Charles, but much craft, tenacity, and ingenuity. He was able to see clearly the cause of the French disasters:—the French cavalry could not ride down the English archers. As soon as he dared (1369), he repudiated the recent treaty, and defied the English to their worst. Their armies again harried the land, but now the French refused them pitched battles, cut off supplies, and forced them to waste their strength in long sieges. In **Bertrand Duguesclin**, Charles found a general of no mean ability who wearied the English out. The Black Prince retired to England to die of disease (1376), and practically all his conquests were lost. **The English held only Calais in the north, and Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south.** Charles was even more successful as a civil administrator. He reformed the machinery of government, and gave back to his subjects law and order, with the accompanying prosperity. Everything promised a most glorious reign when the king died at the age of only forty-three (1380). His eldest son was only twelve, and an evil day had dawned for France.

94. *The second coming of the English: Agincourt (1415).* Civil strife in England for long put a check on new projects of invasion, but the reign of **Charles VI** (1380–1422) was not one of peace for miserable France. The king soon proved himself an imbecile.<sup>1</sup> Two great court parties, the "Armagnacs" (or Orléanists, to which the dauphin or crown prince belonged) and the "Burgundians" (faction of the Duke of Burgundy), waged a bitter war of open battle and secret assassination for the control of the king and the kingdom. The state of the realm went from bad to worse, and in 1415, **Henry V of Eng-**

<sup>1</sup> To the misfortune of his people Charles did not become actually insane, — he had lucid intervals, — and as a result he could not be put under guardians and a regular regent appointed. Instead, the poor king was the helpless tool, now of one faction, now of another, to the great ruin of the country.



land (the wild "Prince Hal," famed by Shakespeare), a bold, chivalrous, and very ambitious sovereign, renewed the foreign war. Somewhat in way of repetition of the Crécy campaign, he invaded France from the north and swept ravaging through Normandy. The "Armagnac" princes (then in control of the government) attacked him at **Agincourt** with a magnificent



ATTACK AND DEFENSE OF A CITY IN THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Note the very primitive cannon just before the gate. (*From a manuscript of Froissart's Chronicles, in the Bibliothèque Nationale*)

army of the old-style feudal horsemen. Sixty thousand French assailed twelve thousand English, but the clothyard shafts of the bowmen had lost nothing of their terrors, and Henry fought his men with superb generalship. Three French dukes, six counts, ninety-two barons, five hundred lesser nobles, and eight thousand of the rank and file lay on the field of battle. The English took so many prisoners that they could hardly guard them. The resisting power of France seemed utterly crippled.



This disaster put the "Burgundian" faction in control of the feeble-minded king and the royal government. In 1419, the Duke of Burgundy, however, was murdered under circumstances of foul treachery by the "Armagnacs." The crime drove the "Burgundians" into the arms of England. By the Treaty of Troyes (1420), poor Charles VI was made to accept Henry V as his son-in-law and to promise him his kingdom upon his own death. **The English occupied Paris and nearly all the north of the kingdom.** Charles's own son, the dauphin, was declared barred from the succession to the throne of his fathers.<sup>1</sup> France seemed on the very point of becoming an English dependency, when in 1422, Henry V and Charles VI both died, almost simultaneously. The claimant alike to England and France was now the former's son, Henry VI (of England), an infant of barely nine months.

95. *Jeanne d'Arc* (1429-31). The former "dauphin" was now, to really loyal Frenchmen, "**King**" **Charles VII** (1422-61), but he had little power in the realm north of the Loire. The English were in Paris and firmly intrenched in all the northern districts. On the eastern side the great Duke of Burgundy (Philip, son of the murdered Duke John) was their ally. The infant Henry VI was proclaimed as king in nearly half of France, and his uncle and regent, the Duke of Bedford, was a skillful and active warrior. As for the dauphin,<sup>2</sup> "a lazy, kindly, good-looking prince," he seemed incapable of honest or strenuous exertion. His court was the scene of selfish factions. His captains were ill-supported and worse directed. His remnants of power seemed crumbling. Yet only a little was needed to kindle France into desperate resistance. The English were hated. Even the Burgundians disliked their

<sup>1</sup> The dauphin had been personally involved in the murder of John, Duke of Burgundy, and this made the entire "Burgundian" faction willing to prefer an Englishman, rather than him, as king.

<sup>2</sup> So he was still called by many even of his loyal subjects, never having been crowned and consecrated at Rheims — the religious capital of France.



allies. The English soldiery were valorous, but by no means numerous enough to conquer and hold a bitterly hostile land. What France needed was an inspiration and a leader. Both were supplied in one of the most remarkable characters in history — **Jeanne d'Arc**.

Jeanne d'Arc, "the Maid" (*la Pucelle*), as the French have fondly called her, was a humble peasant girl of the village of Domrémy, in Champagne. Beginning in 1423, she began (she asserted) to have visions of angels, with a message which became increasingly definite. "Jeanne," spoke an archangel, "go deliver the King of France, and restore him to his kingdom." — "Ah! my Lord, I am only a poor girl: how can I lead men-at-arms!" — "St. Catherine and St. Margaret will aid you." For six years the visions continued. At length she convinced her kindred and the local commandant of her divine mission. She cut off her long hair, put on male garments, and with a small escort set off across France to Chinon, the castle of Charles.



STATUE OF JEANNE D'ARC  
Place des Pyramides, Paris

What followed reads like romance, but is perfectly authentic history. Already the war was at a crisis — **the English were**



besieging Orléans, one of the main props of what remained of the kingdom. Jeanne convinced the doubtful king and the scoffing courtiers that she came with a divine mission.<sup>1</sup> An army was put at her disposal. With a military skill which added to the enthusiasm she inspired in the soldiers by her nobility of character and her modest simplicity, she forced her



SIEGE OF A CITY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Note the large shields, the scaling-ladders, and the crossbows.  
(From a manuscript of Froissart's *Chronicles*, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*)

way into Orléans, then by a successful sortie drove the English from their lines. Orléans was saved: **the tide had turned in favor of France**; and Jeanne followed up her astonishing success by conducting Charles VII through the heart of the enemy's country to Rheims, where, amid "pomp and circumstance," he was crowned king in the great cathedral.

<sup>1</sup> Modern worldly wisdom would have declared her "the victim of hallucinations." Jeanne's contemporaries asked (in this case more wisely), "Is she inspired by God or the Devil?" — and, determining it was "by God," followed her.



So far her career had been one of unparalleled success, but the French courtiers had become shamefully jealous of her. In her further attempts upon the English she was ill-supported. In 1430, she was captured at Compiègne. The English had already denounced her as a witch; now subservient churchmen caused her to be tried in the Inquisition. One of the foulest scenes in human annals was when the Bishop of Beauvais, with every kind of argument and plain threats of the rack, tried to wring from this pure girl confessions of personal iniquity and of dealings with the Devil. The end was inevitable. Despite all threatenings, Jeanne made only very unsatisfactory "confession." **In 1431, she was burned at the stake in Rouen.** She met her end with such noble heroism and religious steadfastness that her tormentors trembled. "We are lost!" cried an English witness; "we have burned a saint."<sup>1</sup>

Charles VII, who had used her services, and who almost owed his crown to her, did nothing in her behalf. Probably he was glad to be rid of such irregular aid. On him, more than on the justly terrified English, must fall the anathemas of history.<sup>2</sup>

**96. The end of the war (1453).** But Jeanne's work was almost done. England was lapsing again into internal strife, and could not keep up her forces in France. Duke Philip of Burgundy was weary of alliance with the alien, and in 1435 he concluded (in return for heavy concessions) a treaty with Charles VII, whereby his great influence was transferred again to the French side. After that, what with the new fighting spirit enkindled by Jeanne, **the English were hopelessly on the defensive.** In 1436, they lost Paris, then little by little their other holdings until, in 1449, Rouen, their Norman

<sup>1</sup> As soon as the war was decided in favor of the French, the Church trial of Jeanne was set aside by the Roman authorities as utterly illegal and void. Quite recently, she has been declared one of the "Blessed" by the Catholic Church.

<sup>2</sup> Charles could readily have saved her. In his custody were various noble Englishmen. The mere threat that their fate would be the same as Jeanne's would have sufficed.



stronghold, fell, and in 1451, Bordeaux, the city in the south which they had held for hundreds of years. In 1453, there came a great victory of the French over an English force at Castillon<sup>1</sup> (near Bordeaux), and the war was over. French national integrity was secure forever.

Charles VII never repented of his execrably supine conduct in allowing Jeanne d'Arc to perish, but in his later years he displayed an energy and an ability as a ruler which she would have rejoiced to see. Once more law and order ruled; the hordes of disbanded mercenary soldiers ("flayers") were broken up. Prosperity returned, after generations of devastating war. In the crucible of sore affliction, France had found herself. She was more united now; more loyal to her king; less feudalized. She was, in short, in a position to develop into the first country of Europe — but she had bought this preparation at a terrible price. To get rid of the mercenary bands and the English, the king had been allowed to maintain a standing army. To pay the costs of this army through the long war he had been allowed to tax his subjects almost at will. Both of these privileges the French kings carefully retained after the English danger ended. With a standing army and with very arbitrary powers of taxation, the monarchs of France could go far on the road which leads to absolutism.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Salic Law; Crécy; the Black Death; the Black Prince; Poitiers; Bretny; Armagnacs; Burgundians; Henry V; Jeanne d'Arc.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Crécy; Calais; Poitiers; Agincourt; Orléans; Compiègne; Domrémy; Bordeaux; Castillon.
  - (b) Mark lands in France held by England at the beginning of the war.

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<sup>1</sup> By this time the French had learned how to deal with the tactics of the archers and had developed a very tolerable archer force of their own. They had also the use of the newly invented artillery.



- (c) Mark the English territories in France at the time of the Peace of Bretigny.
- (d) Mark the English territory in France in 1429.
3. What conditions made hostility between England and France inevitable?
  4. The English archers — their skill and importance.
  5. Why was Calais important?
  6. What was the effect of the Black Death upon England and France?
  7. Compare the work of Charles V of France with the work of Henry II of England.
  8. How did the Agincourt campaign resemble that of Crécy?
  9. The Treaty of Troyes.
  10. What were the conditions in France at the coming of Jeanne d'Arc?
  11. The work of Jeanne d'Arc. Her trial.
  12. What are the reasons for the final triumph of the French?
  13. What were the conditions in France during the later years of Charles VII's reign?

### EXERCISES

1. How were the expenses of the war paid, in both France and England?
2. The English armies — how organized? Compare with the organization of the French.
3. The relations between the nobles and non-nobles in the English armies. Compare with similar relations in the French army.
4. The strategy of the Crécy campaign.
5. The Black Death and its economic effects.
6. The Black Prince and the Spanish Expedition.
7. "States General" of France 1302-1439.
8. Henry V as a warrior. Why did he renew the war?
9. The career of Jeanne d'Arc. How do you explain her success?
10. The economic effects of the war upon France; upon England.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter xxv. Robinson: nos. 197-202.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 179-87, 192-204. Duruy: pp. 187-247.

Any good textbook in English history (as Ransome, pp. 242-78; 313-39).



## CHAPTER XVI

### THE LATER MIDDLE AGES IN ENGLAND

**97. *Edward I and Scotland.*** In 1272, there came to the throne of England one of the greatest of her kings, **Edward I.** Not merely was he a statesman of very high ability in whose reign the English Parliament assumed a shape which it was to preserve with little change for many generations;<sup>1</sup> but he undertook to bring the two outlying Celtic fragments of Great Britain under Anglo-Norman supremacy. **Wales**, where the descendants of the old Britons had hitherto remained practically independent, was now invaded (1276-84), its prince Llewelyn, who disowned Edward's overlordship, was beaten down, and after his death (1282), the whole of this small rocky country was brought under English supremacy (1284). From this time onward, "Prince of Wales" has been the regular title of the heir to the English crown.

But Wales presented only the minor part of Edward's problem. **Scotland was a far larger country, and offered tenacious resistance.** Since William the Conqueror's day the king of this northern fraction of Britain had "done homage" to England; but the hold of the Scotch kings upon their own subjects was very weak. In the "Lowlands" (South Scotland), where there was a strong infusion of Anglo-Saxon settlers, something like law, order, and royal authority prevailed. In the "Highlands" (North Scotland), the wild Gaelic clans owed far more allegiance to their various chiefs than to any king. Civilization (even from a mediæval standpoint) had been very backward in Scotland; but in the thirteenth century better things had prevailed, and the country had made consid-

<sup>1</sup> See chapter XI, p. 122.



erable peaceful progress. Now the sudden death of King Alexander III (1286) precipitated a disputed succession and the inevitable civil war, whereof Edward took prompt advantage. In 1292, he thrust Baliol (one of the claimants) upon the Scottish throne as his vassal. In 1296, he forced this puppet king to resign, and undertook to rule Scotland in his own right, as an actual appanage of England.

Englishmen soon held the castles and the chief government posts in Scotland, but the patriotic and jealous people blazed up in revolt. They found a gallant and capable leader in **Sir William Wallace**. The revolt he headed in 1297 swept nearly all the English from the land, and reduced their power to a few castles; but Edward hastened north with a great army. At Falkirk (1298) he won a complete victory, and the rebellion seemed broken. Wallace was presently betrayed by a traitor and put to a shameful death. The head of this patriot long bleached above one of the gates of London. But the Scotch national spirit was merely bent, not broken. In 1306, **Robert Bruce** (a rival claimant for the crown with Baliol) kindled a new revolt; and Edward I died while on his way again to Scotland, leaving the problem of conquest to a weak successor.

98. *Robert Bruce and Bannockburn* (1314). **Edward II** (1307-27), son of Edward I, was one of the most feeble kings who ever occupied the English throne. When after many delays he assembled a great army and invaded Scotland, the whole of the outraged northern kingdom had rallied around their sovereign, Bruce. At **Bannockburn**, one hundred thousand English are said to have confronted thirty thousand Scots. The miserably commanded "Southrons" could make little use of their numbers, and Bruce gained a complete victory. This battle made abiding history. The English entered Scotland again in later days as ravagers, but never with the real intent of permanent conquest. When Bruce died in 1329, Scottish national independence had been fairly won.



This great struggle with England, however, had wrought permanent harm. Britain was kept divided between two distrustful and often hostile nations. During the next two centuries Scotland was usually the ally of England's standing enemy, France, and was involved in wars wherein she had very slight interest. Again, this severance from her richer and more civilized neighbor stunted her peaceful growth, and condemned her to isolation, weak government, and many bloody wars and feuds. Yet, notwithstanding these misfortunes, the successful defense made by the Scots against national absorption by their great rival must stand as one of the most creditable pages in the story of the nations.

99. *Wiclif and Richard II.* A large part of the history of England for the next century and more is that of the Hundred Years' War with France.<sup>1</sup> But the achievements of Englishmen were not merely those of warriors. The fourteenth century was the age of **Geoffrey Chaucer**, the first great poet in the noble array of writers in the developing English tongue: it was also the age



A GROUP OF CANTERBURY PILGRIMS  
As described in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. (From  
*Cutts's Parish Priests*)

of a religious innovator, who launched a movement which caused no small trouble to the Church, and was a forewarning of the greater commotions of the Protestant Reformation.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xv.



**John Wiclif** <sup>1</sup> (about 1320-84) was an English priest and a professor of the University of Oxford, who presently developed into a most daring theologian. He made use of the current discussion of the worldly doings of politically minded Popes and prelates to subject the whole Church system to a criticism such as it had never faced before in the Middle Ages. The more orthodox churchmen of the day shuddered at his "blasphemies" — his denial of the miracle of transubstantiation;<sup>2</sup> his affirmation that regularly ordained priests were not necessary for a layman who wished to approach God; his stress upon the free interpretation of the Bible, even by the unlearned. Wiclif, however, was a man of organizing ability and personal magnetism, as well as a learned theologian. High noblemen protected him in his lifetime. His itinerant "poor priests" carried his most informal gospel out among the peasantry. Indeed, part of his doctrine may be accounted a potent factor in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.<sup>3</sup> He questioned the necessity of paying tithes to the priest, and a discontented peasantry was not slow to apply a similar challenge to the payment of rent, whether on land or in service, to landlords. He crowned his work by **translating the Bible into English**. It was before the days of printing, yet many copies seem to have been made, and Wiclif's version is one of the monuments of English literature.

After his death his followers, **the Lollards**,<sup>4</sup> for some time made considerable head among the peasantry, but the Church authorities at length stirred up the Government to halt their propaganda by the standard means of stake and fagots (1401). As a sect they disappeared, yet not so certainly their tradition

<sup>1</sup> His name is also spelled Wycliffe and several other ways. In this age many English spellings seem to have been decidedly "phonetic."

<sup>2</sup> The teaching of the Catholic Church that the bread and wine in the communion, upon the consecration by the priest, *really* become the actual body and blood of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> The word is commonly derived from the German *Lollen* (to sing), from the hymn-chanting habits of the Wiclifites.



and influence, which may have made many Englishmen ready for the great religious revolt started by Luther.

100. *The rising of the peasants and the rule of the House of Lancaster.* The worthless Edward II was followed by the brave and victorious **Edward III** (1327-77). The story of his wars in



CORONATION OF AN ENGLISH KING IN THE  
FOURTEENTH CENTURY

(Either Edward II or Edward III). (*From a sixteenth-century miniature at Cambridge, England*)

France is told elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> At home in England the middle of his long reign was marked by the frightful **Black Death**, which in 1349 swept away one third to one half of the population of England. The direct misery caused was appalling,

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xv.



and almost as severe was the wretchedness arising from the unsettling of all trade, industry, and commerce. Where were the human hands left to till the fields and reap the harvests? The prices for necessities rose, and the demands by the surviving peasants for higher wages naturally rose also. Such insolence on the part of "valiant laborers," taking advantage of the dearth to require more pay, filled the nobles and gentry controlling the Government with savage wrath. The famous "**Statute of Laborers**" then passed forbade the bestowal of alms upon an "able-bodied vagrant," fixed the maximum wage it was lawful to pay him, and finally forbade him to emigrate to other districts where he might better his condition.

For years thereafter the English peasantry were in a state of simmering discontent.<sup>1</sup> Early in the reign of **Richard II** (1377-99), Edward's grandson and successor, a prince of very inferior stamp, the climax came. **A great revolt shook the peasantry of England** (1381).<sup>2</sup> A severe poll-tax imposed by the royal Government, and falling heavily upon the poorest classes, was the pretext for the rising. Tumultuous bands of peasants burned the manor houses of the squires, — their oppressive landlords, — murdered the king's officers, and marched on London, demanding of the young king that he "free us forever, us and our lands; and that we be never named nor held for serfs." Needless to say, the nobles and country gentry soon had all the military power on their side. Some of the peasants were cajoled by false promises to go home, the rest were overcome and their leaders hanged.

Yet the revolt had not been in vain. The dread of another such outbreak hung as a millstone over the country landlords. The enfranchisement of the serfs, which is said to have been

<sup>1</sup> Wild theories of social equality were afoot. Said the "mad priest" John Bull, one of the preachers of sedition, —

"When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was *then* the gentleman?"

<sup>2</sup> From its leader called "Wat Tyler's Revolt."



halted by the Black Death, now went quietly on, until within a century and a half after the great rising had "failed," there was hardly a "villein" in all England. In place of the serfs had come a sturdy class of free peasant farmers, who were to do their share in making England a great nation.

This upheaval had come early in the reign of Richard II; later the king's general mismanagement led to a revolt of the nobility, which had a very different issue. Henry of Lancaster, the king's cousin, by skillful intrigues was chosen to reign, and inaugurated a new (Lancastrian) dynasty.

**Henry IV (1399-1413)** was a clever and masterful king, who built up for himself a power all the greater for being constitutionally won. During his reign the cause of the Commons in Parliament made a great advance in freedom and influence.<sup>1</sup> Henry IV has been overshadowed in history by the more showy and heroic career of his son Henry V<sup>2</sup> (1413-22), but the unobtrusive developments of the former reign were of real benefit to England, while Henry V's French wars, conducted brilliantly though they were, wasted great numbers of lives and much money in disastrous and unnatural attempts to unite the Crowns of France and England.

In 1422, his death gave the rule nominally to his infant son **Henry VI (1422-61)**. During the regency for this unlucky prince the French conquests dropped away<sup>3</sup> and the English Government at home drifted into increasing difficulties. In 1453, the king became practically insane, and although he

<sup>1</sup> Important in the successful alliance of King and Commons was the crushing of the great uprising of the northern nobles, among whom was the redoubtable Harry Percy (Hotspur), at the battle of Shrewsbury (1403).

<sup>2</sup> The stories, honored by Shakespeare, about his wild youth are none too well authenticated. Both Henry V, and even more his father, Henry IV, were obliged — probably thanks to their dubious title to the crown — to make great concessions to the claims of the Commons in Parliament to take part in the government. These concessions became a model and precedent for the Parliament party two hundred years later, while contending with the Stuart kings. (See chapter XXIV.)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 178.



recovered a certain lucidity later, here was really the culminating misfortune for the Lancastrian House. Discredited in France, inefficient at home, the Government was now attacked by a coalition of nobles led by the **Duke of York**, and England was plunged into a series of civil wars which, for the nonce, ruined her power abroad and reduced the one-time dominator of France into a distracted second-class nation.

**101. *The Wars of the Roses* (1455-85).** For thirty years, with occasional happy intervals of peace, England was racked by a succession of bloody wars between the **Lancastrians** ("Red Rose") and the princes of the rival **Yorkists** ("White Rose"). The moving spirits were really parties of ambitious and lawless nobles who had got almost completely out of kingly control. In 1461, the weak and "saintly" Henry VI was deposed by the Yorkist leader, who assumed the throne as **Edward IV** (1461-83). He was a fine warrior and a clever man, but indolent and utterly selfish. Then the weathercock of feudal loyalty turned. In 1470, Edward was chased as a fugitive to Flanders and the unfortunate Henry VI was again proclaimed. In 1471, Edward returned, crushed the Lancastrians in the great battle of Tewkesbury, and made bloody work with his prostrate enemies. Henry died a prisoner (probably murdered) in the Tower of London, and Edward IV ended his reign amid comparative peace, although the contest was by no means ended.

**102. *The bad King Richard III* (1483-85).** Edward IV had left a son (**Edward V**) and a still younger brother; but the new king was only thirteen, and his uncle the Duke of Gloucester was proclaimed "protector" of the kingdom. The regent was one of the most unscrupulous and cruel of all the evil nobles bred by the civil wars. Within three months Edward V and his brother "disappeared" in the Tower of London,<sup>1</sup> and their

<sup>1</sup> There is every moral proof (though not legal proof) that these "little princes in the Tower" were murdered by their dastardly uncle. Richard had



guardian, "urged" by the citizens of London and others, took the title of **Richard III**. In 1485, Henry, Earl of Richmond, the successor to the old Lancastrian claims, raised the standard of rebellion, and at the **battle of Bosworth** Richard, deserted by nearly all his followers, died fighting desperately with a bravery which contrasted with his vileness.

Bosworth ended the civil wars: the land had, indeed, need of rest.

**103. Henry VII, restorer of law and order (1485-1509).** Henry VII, "Henry Tudor" and Earl of Richmond before he won the crown by conquest, was not a redoubtable warrior nor an original statesman: but England needed neither of these. She needed a **benevolent despot**, who (without abolishing the forms of law) would crush down the turbulence of the nobility who had almost usurped the government during the civil wars, enforce common justice, refrain from needless wars, and give the commonalty orderly prosperity:— and such a monarch was Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses had killed off a very large number of the nobles, and it was therefore easy for the king to overwhelm the remainder by raising to those peerages now vacant men of his own choosing, who had proved their skill as middle-class merchants and who would owe their elevation entirely to the king himself. After some vain struggles, the few survivors among the great nobles, who had maintained small standing armies of their own and defied the common course of justice, found their power broken. The lords had paid scant respect to the ordinary judge and jury: they now found themselves haled before a **special royal court of "Star Chamber"**<sup>1</sup> and punished for their usurpations. High-born

earlier been guilty, very possibly, of the murder of his brother, the Duke of Clarence.

<sup>1</sup> A special commission chosen for most of its members from the king's Privy Council. Such a court could not, of course, be intimidated as could an ordinary tribunal. This court became later a great engine of oppression. Originally it was usually a terror only to "noble" evildoers.



friends of the king were not exempted. When the king visited the Earl of Oxford, he cast a frowning look upon the earl's array of "gentry and yeomen" drawn up as if to do him honor. "I thank you for your hospitality," spoke Henry, "but I cannot allow my laws to be broken in my sight"; and the Star Chamber fined Oxford £15,000<sup>1</sup> for maintaining an armed force of private retainers contrary to the statute.

Some of Henry's measures were utterly despotic. In place of new taxes on the people at large, he wrung out of his wealthier subjects "benevolences," which were really nothing but forced contributions; but such measures were obnoxious only to a limited class.<sup>2</sup> When Henry died, he left a full treasury, a contented people, and valuable foreign alliances to his successor.

Henry VII stood at the parting of the ways between mediæval and modern times. His reign saw the beginning of English maritime expansion. In 1497, **John Cabot** had made the first voyage under the English flag to North America. Building thus upon the somewhat commonplace prosperity established by Henry, England was about to enter upon her wonderful sixteenth century.

**104. *England at the end of the Middle Ages.*** In 1500, England was still a distinctly agricultural country, with almost no large town outside of London, and very little foreign trade save the export of natural products and a little cloth.<sup>3</sup> Thus economically she was backward (as compared with most parts of France), but politically she had made marked progress. She had a firm government and well-established political and

<sup>1</sup> Possibly ten times as much in modern money, purchasing power considered.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Morton (Henry's prime minister) invented what was known as "Morton's fork" for dealing with reluctant "givers out of their benevolence." "If a man lived handsomely, he was told that he clearly had money to spare. If he lived plainly, that he was saving money and was rich enough to help the king."

<sup>3</sup> All through the period of the Wars of the Roses, the non-noble free farmers (yeomanry) had been coming into respectable prominence; there had also been a considerable development of cloth manufacture which enabled the English to compete with the Flemish woolen trade.



legal institutions.<sup>1</sup> Her Tudor kings had almost despotic power, gained principally by their ability in interpreting and manipulating the existing laws in their own favor, rather than in arbitrarily setting them aside. Again, the kings had no formidable standing army. Their power rested on the general support and loyalty of their subjects, and they were quite aware of the fact and governed accordingly. The Parliaments

**I** nedyrth hym that woll haue longe  
lyff to knowe the craft of holsome go-  
uerne ple. And so for to kepe contynuelly the  
helthe of his body/ for els he maye not com to  
¶ i.

FACSIMILE SPECIMEN OF CAXTON'S PRINTING

The art of printing was brought to England in 1477

were extremely dependent upon the royal will, but the king never undertook to govern without them. Theoretically there was lawful consent given for even the most extreme acts of oppression; and this perpetuation of parliamentary institutions was to make the erection of genuine political liberties later very easy — it being necessary merely to give real freedom and vitality to existing forms. The next crisis, however, confronting England was not political but religious — she was to give her own peculiar answer to the question of separating from Rome.

105. *The English in Ireland.* All through the later Middle Ages the English kings had been putting forth their hands upon the great Celtic island to the westward. Ireland had probably

<sup>1</sup> Particularly the nobility had been stripped of nearly all their political advantages except the hereditary seats of the "Lords" in Parliament. There were fewer "privileges" for the upper classes, and more general equality before the law for all classes of men in England than in any other large country, while serfage was almost extinct.



been as civilized a land as Anglo-Saxon England before the Norman Conquest:<sup>1</sup> but it had been rent asunder by tribal wars; petty kings had contended for petty kingdoms, and no strong native ruler had ever consolidated the clans under his authority. The Danes, too, had harried Ireland sorely, about the time that they were ravaging England. **In 1169, a band of Anglo-Norman nobles crossed from England and began a conquest on their own authority.**<sup>2</sup> King Henry II (fearing lest a kingdom ruled by his former subjects would become a dangerous neighbor) himself invaded Ireland in 1172. The Celtic chiefs were soon beaten down, and henceforth the foreign power never loosed its grip from the feud-rent island. But while the English could conquer, they could not really subdue: their settlers themselves often drifted into Irish speech and customs, and the power of the royal viceroys was seldom formidable beyond Dublin and the "English Pale" — the district adjacent.

**This miserable condition of half-conquest continued for centuries.** The English kings were unable to dispatch the relays of armies needful for a real subjugation: the Irish were unable to effect a union (like that of Wallace and Bruce in Scotland) and to drive the alien from the land. The result was, of course, perpetual petty warfare, raiding, tyranny, and bloody reprisal which make the story of "Celt and Saxon" one of the most melancholy in the world. When the Reformation came and the English accepted Protestantism, the bulk of the Irish were ready — thanks to long centuries of animosity — to see everything good in the old Catholic religion of their fathers. So to national hatred was added religious hatred, and the "Irish

<sup>1</sup> According to the stories of the life of St. Patrick, the great Irish saint (372-454), Ireland was among the most highly civilized countries in the world at the dawn of the Middle Ages. Thanks to St. Patrick, Ireland was converted to Christianity nearly two centuries before Anglo-Saxon England.

<sup>2</sup> This conquest came as a direct result of the feuds among the Irish chiefs themselves. One of them sought help in England and was authorized by Henry II to obtain it among the Norman barons.



Question," with all its woes, was sharpened to vex British politics, and to be a sore bane to England hardly less than to Ireland even down to the present day.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — William Wallace; Robert Bruce; Bannockburn; Chaucer; Wiclif; Transubstantiation; Lollards; the Lancastrian Kings; Wars of the Roses; Richard III; Henry Tudor; Star Chamber; Benevolences; the English Pale; St. Patrick.
2. *Geography* — Locate Bannockburn; Oxford; Bosworth; Dublin; the English Pale.
3. Edward I and Scotland.
4. The work of Robert Bruce.
5. The teachings and influence of Wiclif.
6. What made the Wars of the Roses possible? How did these wars affect England?
7. Compare the effects of the Wars of the Roses upon England with the effects of the Hundred Years' War upon France.
8. The character of Richard III.
9. What did Henry VII accomplish for England? By what means?
10. What were the conditions in Ireland at the time of the English conquest? Did Ireland improve under English control? Why?

### EXERCISES

1. The conquest of Wales. Origin of the title "Prince of Wales."
2. Did Baliol have the best claim to the Scottish throne?
3. The character of William Wallace.
4. Robert Bruce.
5. The relations between France and Scotland at the time of Edward I.
6. Relations between England and Scotland under Edward III.
7. Geoffrey Chaucer.
8. Wiclif as an author.
9. The effect of the Hundred Years' War and the economic changes under Edward III upon the power of Parliament.
10. Richard II and Ireland.
11. The relations between Henry IV and Parliament.
12. The persecution of the Lollards.
13. The Earl of Warwick has been called the "King-Maker"; also the "Last of the Barons." Why?
14. How did the Wars of the Roses affect the towns?



15. The foreign policy of Henry VII.
16. The growth of commerce under Henry VII.
17. Early Irish civilization.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter xxvii. Robinson: nos. 202, 207-09.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 157-59. Gibbins: pp. 94-101. Any good textbook in English history (as Ransome, pp. 205-42: 278-313: 339-92).



## CHAPTER XVII

### THE POPES, THE SCHISM, AND THE COUNCILS

**106. *The downfall of Boniface VIII* (1294-1303).** In 1250, when Frederick II died, the Popes seemed about to dominate the Western world as "God's Vicars," supreme over secular kings as well as over matters spiritual. Within two generations they had been sorely humiliated, and the secular power had put them entirely on the defensive. The new national spirit and patriotism, which would rally behind a king, even against the Pope, had silently come into being — especially in France. The Pope could no longer bring a king to terms by "loosing his subjects from their oaths of fealty." The subject people simply denied the Pope's right to meddle in non-spiritual matters at all, and continued in their loyalty. It took some time, however, for the world to realize this change, until a masterful and incautious Pope brought about his own humiliation, and terribly proved the disillusionment of **Boniface VIII**.

This Pope began to reign in 1294. He was an elderly, learned, personally blameless man, but very ambitious, obstinate, and utterly untactful. His chief antagonist was **King Philip IV, "the Fair"** (1285-1314), of France, the grandson of the famous St. Louis, and himself a grasping, capable monarch, careless of the means to his end and well served by supple ministers. In 1296, the Pope began hostilities by a bull<sup>1</sup> forbidding the clergy of France to pay taxes to the king,<sup>2</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> A solemn papal pronouncement. The name comes from the great *bullo* (= seal) attached to such documents.

<sup>2</sup> The clergy represented possibly one third of the wealth of France. The Pope was not so much zealous for *their* rights as anxious to keep the privilege of taxing them for himself. Philip might well ask whether he were an effective king if so many of his nominal subjects were exempt from his taxation.



king had effectively countered by forbidding the export of "precious metals and jewels" from the realm, thereby cutting off the papal income from France. Boniface made a temporary truce, but soon on various minor issues war blazed forth again. The Pope asserted his supremacy over kings, quoting the Bible to prove that God had raised the Popes "to pluck down, to destroy, scatter, rebuild, and plant"; and finally (1302) asserted "it is absolutely necessary for the salvation of every human creature that he be subject to the Roman Pontiff."<sup>1</sup>

In the bold defiance which Philip offered to these claims he was sustained by the best sentiment of his whole kingdom. The French clergy, no less than the nobility and the free towns, loudly professed their loyalty. **One of the Pope's bulls was actually burned by the public hangman at Paris,** and the climax came at **Anagni** (a small town near Rome) in 1303.

Boniface was there about to promulgate another bull, declaring Philip deposed from his throne, when the town was invaded by a loose band of hireling soldiers in the king's pay. Boniface's life was threatened: he was grossly insulted and flung into a dungeon. In a few days his friends rallied, rescued and took him to Rome, but the insult had broken his spirit. To be about to depose a mighty king, and then to become the prey of semi-bandits! — the humiliation was deadly. Speedily he died (1303), and his high pretensions and abject fate were a warning to his successors. "He got in like a fox,<sup>2</sup> he played the Pope like a lion, he died like a dog," — so his ill-wishers summed up his disastrous pontificate. He was almost the last Pope able to utter dangerous threats against great princes.

**107. The "Babylonish Captivity" at Avignon (1305-78).** The resistance of France had frightened the worldly-minded cardinals. They desired peace with the kings and quiet enjoy-

<sup>1</sup> This is the climax of the famous bull "*Unam Sanctam*." The papal bulls are usually named by their first (Latin) words.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the very dubious means by which Boniface is said to have procured the resignation of his predecessor — Celestine V.



ment of their revenues. In 1305, they chose a **Frenchman Pope**, — **Clement V**, — who proved himself utterly subservient to Philip IV and his political influence. He **withdrew the Papal Court from Rome to Avignon in southern France**. Here for more than seventy years the Popes remained, often entirely under French control, and leaving Rome “widowed and desolate.” The Popes and cardinals built magnificent palaces at this “sinful city of Avignon.” The Papal Court was reputed among good Catholics to be the most luxurious, expensive, and withal worldly in Europe.<sup>1</sup> Frenchmen filled all the chief offices of the Church, and permitted the grossest kind of financial abuses. “The Babylonish Captivity,” in short, was one long scandal, which did much to undermine the general reverence men held for the Church; yet it was to be followed by something worse.

**108. The Great Schism (1378–1415).** In 1378, a relatively good Pope (Gregory XI) died during a visit to Rome. The French cardinals were minded to choose a Pontiff who would return with them to their luxurious Avignon; but the Roman mob was bent on keeping the Papacy within the sacred city. “A Roman! A Roman! or at least an Italian, — or your heads be as red as your hats!” rang the yells of the multitude as the cardinals entered the “Conclave” to elect; while bells rang, weapons clashed, and an angry throng roared outside the Vatican palace so long as the cardinals deliberated.

<sup>1</sup> Among the abuses imputed to this Avignon Government were: —

(a) *Nepotism* — thrusting of relatives into the offices of the Church.

(b) *Expectatives* — the sale in advance of the appointment to an office in the Church, whenever the present holder of that appointment might die or resign.

(c) *Unnecessary Dispensations* — the release, for a fee, from inconvenient vows and churchly impediments.

(d) Making all Church litigation exceedingly slow, complicated, and consequently costly.

(e) *Pluralities* — Allowing favored churchmen to hold several well-paid church offices simultaneously.

These were all matters of *practice*. The Church *doctrines* were not yet in question.



In fear of their lives the cardinals elected, indeed, an Italian, — **Urban VI**, — but a man whom they expected to prove subservient to their wishes. It soon appeared that he would be to them an unbending master, who utterly refused to return to Avignon. The cardinals were wrathful and disappointed. Had



ITALIAN ECCLESIASTICAL PROCESSION IN  
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(From a miniature in a fifteenth-century *Breviary*  
in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*)

they not elected Urban under compulsion? Was he the lawful Pope? A few months after this first election, the cardinals declared the Papacy vacant, and proceeded to **choose a new Pontiff**, — **Clement VII**, — who speedily went to Avignon.

A momentous question was now propounded to every king of Europe. Which Pope should he recognize?<sup>1</sup>

Urban and Clement mutually excommunicated one another, and devoted their rivals and all their rival's helpers to the Devil. It was all very well to say a true Christian should obey the Pope. Who *was* the Pope? Each king had really to settle the matter for himself. France, the Spanish kingdoms, and Scotland speedily supported Clement, the Avignon Pope: Germany, Italy, England, and the other lands chose Urban of Rome. **The "two obediences" split the "one Church" asunder.**

<sup>1</sup> Later Catholic historians consider Urban VI the true Pope and Clement VII the Anti-Pope, but it is admitted that Clement was not a vulgar pretender, and that a very plausible technical case could be made out on his side. The Church never made an authoritative statement as to which claimant represented the true line.



Neither Pope could crush his rival. Neither would yield. When one died, his cardinals<sup>1</sup> hastened to elect a successor, who continued the strife. There seemed, to the learned university "doctors" who wrought long upon the question, only one satisfactory solution — a **council** of the bishops, theologians, and learned laymen of the whole Church, before whose authority even a Pope must bow. Many good churchmen balked at this proposal, but the need was great, and public opinion demanded it.

**109. The councils. John Hus.** The first council held at **Pisa** (1409) only made bad matters worse. It declared *both* Popes deposed, and chose a new one (Alexander V). Most of the nations acknowledged him, but not all;<sup>2</sup> — and there were **now three Popes** dividing Christendom. Moreover, the new Pisa Pope soon died, and his successor, John XXIII, was an Italian politician of scandalous life whose enemies declared that he had spent his youth as a pirate.<sup>3</sup> But a second council met in **Constance** (in southern Germany 1414-18), with much greater success. John XXIII, by his slippery dealings and pledge-breaking, lost all his supporters and was declared deposed in turn. The old "Rome" Pope had the wisdom to resign; the old "Avignon" Pope was obstinate, but his followers left him in disgust. In 1417, Christendom rejoiced to hear that a **new and undoubted Pope** had been chosen, — **Martin V** — and the "seamless robe of the Church" was reunited, although the hoped-for reformation of the Church had not taken place.

However, the Council of Constance had not merely to heal the schism; it had to deal with acute heresy. **In Bohemia,**

<sup>1</sup> Urban had made haste to "create" a new body of cardinals as soon as he had broken with the old ones.

<sup>2</sup> Some districts in Italy still held to the "Rome" Pope (Gregory XII); and most of Spain to the "Avignon" Pope (Benedict XIII).

<sup>3</sup> John's moral unworthiness is undoubted, but Catholic historians disclaim all responsibility for him, as not being a really lawful Pope.



**John Hus**, a popular preacher of Prague, the capital city, **had been infected with the teachings of the Englishman, Wiclif.**<sup>1</sup> Hus soon earned the distrust of the Church authorities by his free denunciations of the more worldly clergy and by his tendency to make very free use of the Bible to justify many doctrines which were, to say the least, only semi-orthodox. He was summoned to Constance to give an account of his teachings, and seems to have gone willingly,<sup>2</sup> convinced that he could bring the council to his way of thinking. When, however, he was informed that "the assembled Fathers" adjudged his doctrines heresy, he refused stedfastly to recant. "It is better for me to die," he asserted, "than to fall into the hands of the Lord by withdrawing from the truth." Under the law of the time there could be only one end for him. **He was burned at Constance (1415),** and the ashes of "the execrable heretic" were scattered in the Rhine.<sup>3</sup>

Hus perished, but not his cause. The Bohemians considered him a national hero. His friends rose to avenge him, seized the local government, organized a non-Catholic Church in accordance with his teachings,<sup>4</sup> and raised armies which harried Germany and defied every effort by the Church and German princes to subdue them (1418-30). Force having failed, the Church was induced to try persuasion. A new council was held at **Basel (1431),** at which the Hussites were treated with an

<sup>1</sup> See p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> He was given a pledge of safe-conduct by the Emperor, which was deliberately broken by the council on the ground that faith need not be kept with heretics, and that the Emperor had no right to promise immunity.

<sup>3</sup> Hus's punishment arose not so much from any specifically unorthodox doctrine, but from his whole attitude of questioning the final authorities of the Church. His enemies were not worldly-minded prelates, but, according to their lights, honest and learned reformers, very anxious to reëstablish the Church in its purity, but also anxious, while they cast out evil Anti-Popes, not to open the door to false doctrine.

<sup>4</sup> The Hussite Church would to-day be considered very "Protestant" in some of its methods and doctrines: its cardinal point was especially the bestowal of the *cup* (in the Communion) to the laity as well as to the clergy. The Hussites were often called the *Calixtines* (from *calix* = cup).



indulgence unusual in the Middle Ages, and readmitted into the Church with a special license to retain some of their peculiar usages. The Council of Basel, however, was in the main a failure. The demand for a "reform of the Church in head and in members" — i.e., the ending of such abuses as had marked the Avignon régime — was loud in all lands. The council, therefore, continued long in session and proposed drastic remedies; but its leaders were unwise radicals. They quarreled with the Pope (Eugenius IV), and disgusted the world with an attempt at a new schism. As a result the council broke up in 1449, having accomplished extremely little.

#### 110. *The final era of the mediæval Papacy.*

Following the fiasco at Basel, no more real efforts were made to reform the Church for two generations. The Popes had now resigned all attempts to play the political dictator over kings: they kept their spiritual sovereignty over the entire Church, but their real interests seemed to be those of temporal princes in Central Italy, — ambitious to build up a strong dominion around Rome. As a result, while some of these fifteenth-century Popes were admirable men, — like the great scholar and patron of



A CHURCH COUNCIL IN THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Pope is presiding. About him are the high prelates. In the lowest rank are the abbots. (*From a fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum*)



learning, Nicholas V (1447-55), — others were worldly in the extreme; very “secular” in their lives and policy, given to wars, diplomatic intrigues, and all the unworthy artifices which then characterized Italian statecraft. The most notorious instance of these worldly Popes was Alexander (VI) Borgia, (1492-1503) whose cruelties have become a by-word. Manifestly, this failure to recognize the growing need for a general reformation of the Church, and the perpetuation of many inveterate scandals, could not but work grievous harm to the prestige of the Papacy. Within fifteen years of Alexander’s death, his successors were being vexed by an unwelcome name — Luther.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Boniface VIII; Philip the Fair; “Unam Sanctam”; Babylonish Captivity; Nepotism; Expectatives; Dispensation; Clement V; Conclave; Vatican; the Great Schism; Council of Pisa; Council of Constance; Martin V; John Hus; Wiclif.
2. *Geography* — Locate Rome; Avignon; Pisa; Constance; Prague; Basel.
3. What was the position of the Papacy under Innocent III?
4. What had been the general character of the relations between the French kings and the Popes?
5. How do you account for the support given to Philip by his subjects as compared with the attitude of the subjects in the other contests?
6. The Papacy at Avignon.
7. The Great Schism. How did the Babylonish Captivity and the Great Schism affect the position and influence of the Papacy? Of the whole Church?
8. The results of the Councils of Pisa and of Constance.
9. Compare the work of Hus with that of Wiclif.
10. How did the position and influence of the Papacy during the last part of the fifteenth century compare with its position and influence during the last part of the thirteenth century? How do you account for the difference?

### EXERCISES

1. In what did the wealth of the French clergy consist?
2. What were the relations between Boniface VIII and Edward I of England?
3. The Babylonish Captivity.



4. Would Wiclif and Hus have made so powerful an impression had there been no trouble in the Church?
5. The subsequent history of the Hussites.
6. The Council of Basel and Eugenius IV.
7. The general character of the Popes of the Renaissance.
8. Alexander Borgia.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapters XXIII, XXVII (in review). Robinson: nos. 205-16, 232a-32c.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 108-09, 204-09. Lewis: pp. 276-85. Symonds: chapter iv. Any English history (for Wiclif, Ransome, pp. 274 ff.)



## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE RENAISSANCE

III. *The mediæval universities and schoolmen.* As the Middle Ages advanced, learning became more general. It was no longer quite so exclusively the property of the clergy. It was no longer taught solely at the monastery or cathedral schools. Especially in Italy, France, and England (and a little later in Germany), **universities** sprang up. At first they were merely informal associations of students and their "masters"; then gradually they obtained government charters, special privileges, a fixed organization, and the power to grant "learned degrees." The "capped and gowned" *doctor* of philosophy, law, or theology comes into existence, with a prestige and power so great as to constitute almost a rival order to the nobility. The influence of these universities on the Church is often decisive. Their one-time students become bishops, cardinals, Popes. The most famous of these institutions was **the University of Paris**, which had been chartered in 1200, and for the next three centuries was the leader of enlightenment in Europe. It was, indeed, this university which practically arranged the Councils of Pisa and Constance, insured their success, and ended the Great Schism.

The prime study in these universities was, of course, theology, but this was not their exclusive interest. Bologna boasted especially her teaching of the civil (old Roman) law; Salerno, her medicine. Astonishing energy was devoted to the niceties of formal logic and "dialectic" (argumentation). The great doctrines of the Church were naturally first accepted as matters of faith, then justified by very acute arguments. In non-essential religious matters great latitude of discussion was



often allowed, and mediæval disputations, if often very arid from a modern standpoint, show remarkable sharpness of intellect.<sup>1</sup> **Thomas Aquinas** (1226-74), "the angelic doctor," who was perhaps the most famous of these "schoolmen," is still considered an almost infallible expositor of Catholic doctrines, and is undoubtedly one of the leading metaphysicians of any age.

The old "scholastic" learning, then, had marked advantages. It gained by its intensity something of what it had lost by its narrow range of subjects. It created an atmosphere of interest in intellectual studies, and paved the way for greater things.

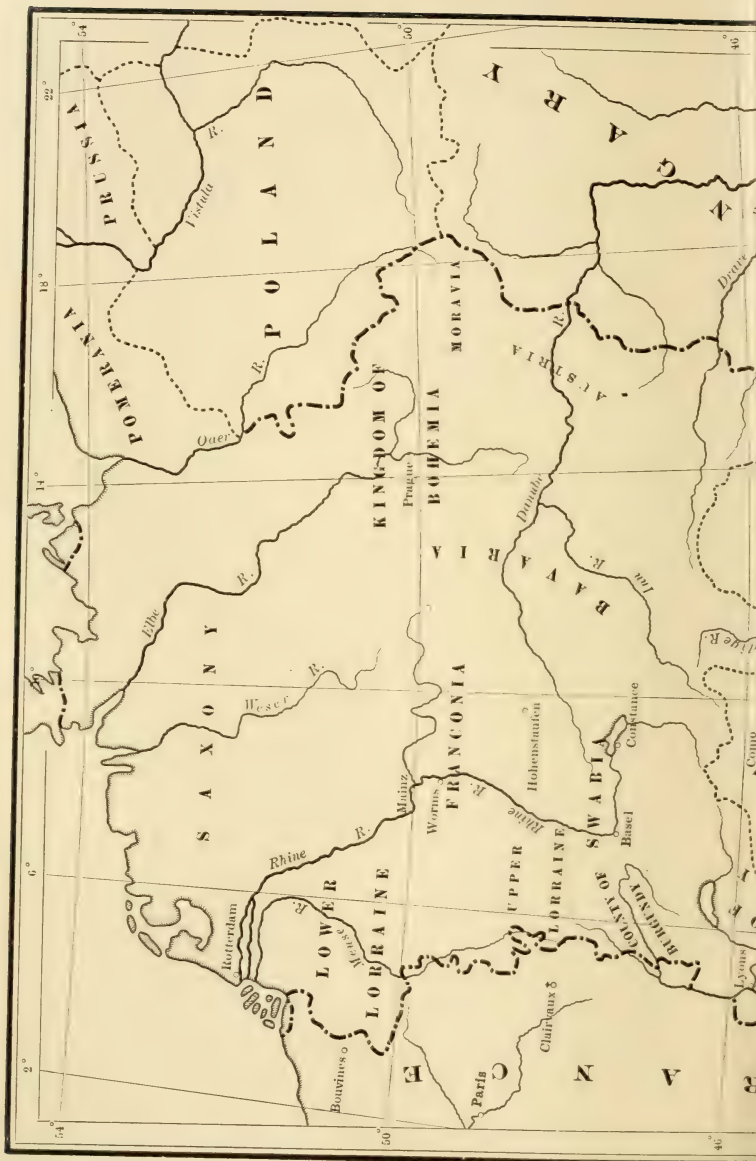
**112. *The new conditions in Italy.*** During the earlier Middle Ages the prevailing view of life (among thoughtful men) had been sufficiently austere — that **this life was a mere probation**, in itself evil and painful, before the eternal heaven or the eternal hell;<sup>2</sup> temporal benefits were therefore doubtful; temporal pleasures, still more doubtful. Any studies which did not bear on preparing men for their eternal state were useless or worse. Especially one must not learn to love too well the old pagan Latin writings, for what had heathens like Cicero and Virgil — with all their literary charm — to give to pious

<sup>1</sup> Some of the stock "schoolmen's" discussions, after the movement had begun to degenerate, were on subjects such as, "How many angels can dance on the point of a needle?" The subject seems trivial, but it was excellently adapted for its object — the sharpening of fine logical distinctions.

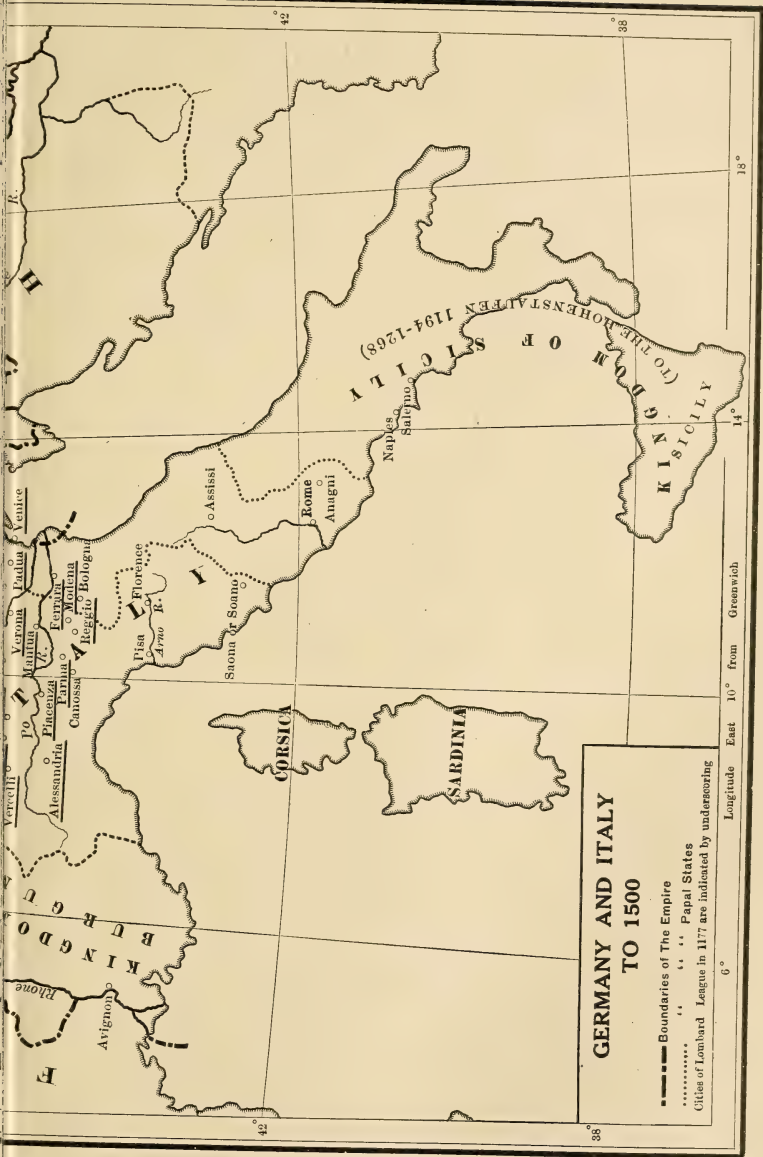
<sup>2</sup> This view of the hereafter, the immanence of the day of judgment, and the important bearing of the present life upon man's eternal felicity or misery, is well expressed in the opening lines of a twelfth-century hymn by Bernard of Cluny. (The succeeding stanzas are often sung in present-day churches as the hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden.")

"The world is very evil,  
The times are waxing late,  
Be sober and keep vigil,  
The Judge is at the gate;  
The Judge who comes in mercy,  
The Judge who comes in might,  
To terminate the evil,  
To diadem the right."











Christians? So long as this attitude was taken toward the world and human life, intellectual and scientific progress were at best handicapped.

It was in Italy that the first change came in public opinion. Italy had always kept more of the old Roman civilization and city life than the sterner North. Italy was first quickened by the revival of commerce — the growth of such rich cities as Venice and Florence. She was also less afflicted by the evils of the feudal system. Sadly as her city-states were divided one from another, they were usually the seats of elegance and luxury; and conditions, too, helped the growth of a **leisure class**, — men of good family, who found no joy in knightly fighting, and who, if they went into the Church, had little interest in the formal acts of piety. Such men were destined to supply most of the **professional scholars** who now come into evidence.

Again, too, many of the Italian cities, after being ruled awhile as turbulent “republics” (faction against faction, family against family), sank at length under the rule of local despots, — princes often of diabolical cruelty and ruthlessness,<sup>1</sup> but also men of finesse, elegant manners, and quite able to play the “gracious patron” to obsequious poets and scholars, even while their victims groaned in the dungeons under the palace.

It was in this peculiar atmosphere, of tense, turbulent, but very vital city-republics, or of immoral but highly elegant city-despotisms, that the leaders of the “New Thought” grew up in Italy.

**113. *The Epoch-makers — Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.*** The end of the thirteenth century saw the beginning of what has been called the **Renaissance**, — the “rebirth” of the old

<sup>1</sup> So Verona, Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, and Modena, — not to name many others, — were at various times under “tyrants,” who were usually strange admixtures of art-patrons and unscrupulous blackguards, — alike able to criticize a painting and to negotiate the poisoning or stilettoing of a rival.



**Græco-Roman culture and art, of interest in secular learning, of keen interest in this present world** without direct reference to its bearing upon the hereafter. This "revival of learning" in Italy is attended "by two great achievements, — the discovery of the world, and the discovery of [the nature of] man."<sup>1</sup> It is a movement of wide activities and interests. Theology or fighting no longer engrosses human attention. There are so many lines of development that it is impossible to trace more than a few, yet through this wonderful fourteenth century stand out the names of three great Italians who have done more for the world than many famous warriors or kings — Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

**Dante** (1265–1321), born at beautiful Florence, but banished forever from his homeland in 1301, is more the herald of the Renaissance than its actual champion. He (like all learned men) wrote much and ably in Latin; but his fame rests on the "**Divine Comedy**" — one of the world's very greatest poems, wherein he sums up in a single composition almost the whole of mediæval erudition, political theory, and religious aspiration in his vision of inferno, purgatory, and heaven. And the "**Divine Comedy**" is not in Latin, but in Italian.<sup>2</sup> The mere fact that so great a poem could be written in a national vernacular is a witness that the Middle Ages were passing.

The second great spirit was **Petrarch** (1302–74), also of Florentine parentage,<sup>3</sup> a great lyric poet whose sonnets in praise of "Laura" have won deserved immortality. But Petrarch's real glory was as a new kind of Latinist. His Latin lore was very different from that of the monkish theologians. He was practically the founder of later-day classical learning. He studied the old authors intelligently and critically; tried

<sup>1</sup> Michelet.

<sup>2</sup> Dante is said to have hesitated ere writing on so noble a subject in so crude a language as the Italian vernacular, and therefore came near ruining his great poem by writing it in Latin.

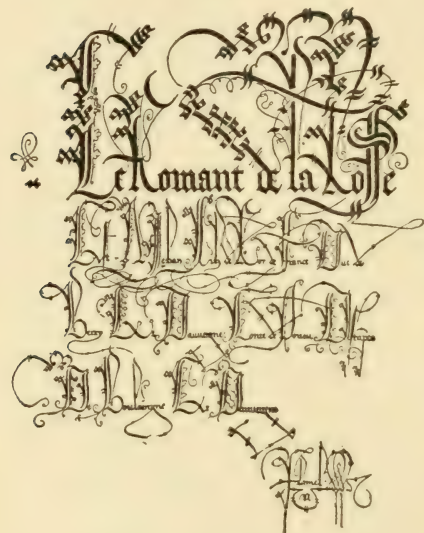
<sup>3</sup> He was actually born in the small city of Arezzo.



to fathom their real meaning; rescued nigh-forgotten manuscripts; in short, made all but a religion of his passion for antiquity. To him Cicero and Tacitus were not "lost heathen," but almost saints whose works and words were to be treasured as semi-inspired. He was transported with awe-struck delight when a copy of Homer was given him, although he could hardly

read a word of the Greek. Petrarch, therefore, stands in history as the first great secular scholar the modern world had seen; and it was a notable day when a gifted man would dedicate his life to learning, simply for learning's sake.

Less famous but hardly less influential was Petrarch's friend, Boccaccio (1313-75).<sup>1</sup> He, like Petrarch, was a zealous collector of Greek and Latin manuscripts, and composed treatises on classical history and mythology which were



DECORATIVE TITLE (reduced)

Of a manuscript copy of *Le Roman de la Rose*, a romance of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (In the *Bibliothèque Nationale*)

to be the starting-point for much later scholarship. But his place in history was won by his "**Decameron**," a collection (in Italian) of graceful tales ("short stories" they might well be called), which, by their ingenuity, wit, and skill of narration, became models for almost every later novelist and

<sup>1</sup> He was born in Paris but of Italian parentage, and he spent most of his life in Italy. — "Dante was admired: Petrarch was praised: Boccaccio was read," is a striking summary given of the achievements of these three immortals.



furnished ideas and actual plots for such English writers as Chaucer and Shakespeare. Before Boccaccio's day "story-telling" had been the trivial task of wandering minstrels and mountebanks: after him it became an art which might engage the greatest literary genius.

It is a sign of the progress of the Italians in their love of secular learning that Boccaccio, before his death, became a lecturer at the University of Florence, commissioned to expound the "Divine Comedy." So we have with him the beginning also of the literary criticism of modern literatures, another step away from the old "scholastic" curriculum.

**114. The "New Learning."** For about a century and a half after Boccaccio's death, the main interest of many of the best minds of Italy was centered upon the recovery of the life, letters, ideas, and ideals of the ancient world. **An enormous stress was laid upon the writing of pure elegant Ciceronian Latin.**<sup>1</sup> "I fear a single letter from the pen of Salutati more than a thousand horsemen," spoke the tyrant of Milan of a certain secretary to the Republic of Florence famous for his masterly Latin style. The zeal for Latin studies, in fact, sometimes ran to absurdities. "'Virtue,' which meant *manliness* in the Roman Age, and *goodness* in the Middle Ages, in the revival of learning meant mainly a knowledge of Latin."<sup>2</sup>

Latin literature, however, only summed up one half of antiquity — perhaps the less valuable half. Truly to revive the old learning, one must have **Greek**, and Greek study had almost perished in the West during the Middle Ages, though the monks sometimes made unintelligent transcripts of Greek manuscripts. Petrarch and Boccaccio knew very little Greek, but the next age advanced far beyond them. Constantinople was still a Christian city. Greek scholars drifted thence to

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval "monk's Latin," though often very vigorous, contained many uncouth forms and words, and sometimes was so intermixed with terms from the local vernacular as to become "hog Latin," indeed.

<sup>2</sup> Sandys, *Revival of Learning*, p. 56.



Italy. In 1396, a famous Greek teacher, **Chrysoloras**, settled in Florence, and the youths of the city flocked around him. From this time onward, Homer, Plato, Sophocles, and their peers, were "given back to Europe," and in their own tongue. All the matchless wealth of the Greek intellect in history, philosophy, physics, and art was now at the disposal of men of the West at the very moment that they were emerging from the disorders of the Middle Ages and able to make fertile use of new ideas. In 1453, the Turks, indeed, took Constantinople, but Greek studies and books were being treasured elsewhere. "Greece had not perished," we are told by a scholar of the age, "but had emigrated to Italy." And Greece continues to supply the bases for a great proportion of the thought of the world even to this day.

115. *The revival of "the joy of living."* The revival of Græco-Roman studies brought with it the revival of the old Græco-Roman ideals. The world was not a gloomy place of probation, after all, but a joyous habitation full of possibilities and stirring experiences. Men continued to call themselves "good Catholics," but often their reverence for the Church became merely formal. Scholars founded "Platonic academies," and even imitated the old pagan sacrifices and temple rites. Morality was sacrificed to the mere delight of "knowing the world," and indulging in all manner of new sensations. When the old restraints were withdrawn, men often became unscrupulous in the pursuit of any darling ambition.<sup>1</sup> Hence the stories of intrigues and elegant criminality with which this Italian age is full; yet in the end the good outweighed the bad.

<sup>1</sup> The following story will illustrate how insatiate was the desire of Italians of this age for *fame* — at whatever cost. In 1414, the tyrant of the Italian city of Lodi had as his guests both the Emperor (Sigismund) and the Pope (John XXIII). He took his guests upon a high tower to show them the view of the city. While there a desire seized him to *hurl them both thence*, and so render his own name immortal as the destroyer of both Pope and Emperor! He resisted the temptation. His guests retired unharmed; but in after years the tyrant lamented his scruples and his lost opportunity.

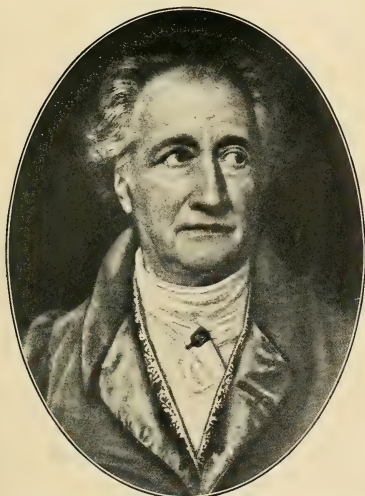




CERVANTES  
Spanish novelist  
Born 1547      Died 1616



DANTE ALIGHIERI  
Italian poet  
Born 1265      Died 1321



JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE  
German author  
Born 1749      Died 1832



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE  
English poet and dramatist  
Born 1564      Died 1616

## GREAT WRITERS







After the reaction from the old austere views had spent itself would come the acceptance by the world of a more normal, just type of morality than that of either the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.

Typical of the Renaissance spirit, with its frivolity and its savagery, its elegance and its brutality, is the rise of the "Condottieri," or roving military leaders. These men were sometimes bold adventurers, who sold themselves from state to state as generals in the constant petty wars. Sometimes, however, they were themselves princes, such as the Marquis of Mantua, and, most famous of all, Cæsar Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI.<sup>1</sup> This splendid warrior had a short and glorious career in which he all but succeeded in conquering for himself a principality, made up of several of the small dukedoms of Central Italy. Only the death of the Pope and a sudden illness of his own lost to him at the last moment the hard-earned results of a life spent in aggression and merciless warfare.

**116. *The new art.*** Along with the "new learning" and new attitude toward life and the world went a new manner of art. Here again the old Græco-Roman monuments furnished the model. The "Gothic" style of architecture of the Middle Ages was replaced by the "Renaissance" type, a use of elaborate Corinthian columns, with arches and mighty domes of the classic style, whereof a notable example is the rebuilt Church of St. Peter at Rome (sixteenth century). The mediæval sculpture was now made natural and beautiful by such sculptors as **Donatello** (1386-1466), a worthy successor to the old masters of Greece. But **painting** especially was brought to a perfection which probably went beyond even the best of the ancient world. From **Cimabue** (d. about 1302) to **Raphael** (d. 1520) and **Michael Angelo**<sup>2</sup> (d. 1564), we have an

<sup>1</sup> See p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Angelo was more than a great painter. He was at once a master architect, sculptor, artist, and poet. The Renaissance produced numbers of men gifted with a wonderfully many-sided genius.



ascending series of Italian painters (especially from Florence), who have given us what are usually counted supreme examples in one of the noblest of all the arts.

**117. The new inventions.** The Renaissance saw also the coming of the great inventions which were to help remould civilization. The effects on history of **gunpowder** are described elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The **mariner's compass**, introduced, at first, in a very crude form, possibly from the Chinese and more directly through the Arabs, was also coming into use during this period.<sup>2</sup>

No longer need the navigator hug the shore. He could boldly launch out into the deep. The discovery of America was really made possible by this invention.

Even more vital was the invention of **printing**. During most of the Middle Ages there was so little call for books that mere manuscript reproduction sufficed well enough. The growth of interest in literature, however, created a need for prompt and cheaper methods of copying, and the need presently brought its own so-



A PRINTING-PRESS SOON AFTER  
GUTENBERG

lution. First the manufacture of **linen paper** (in place of costly parchment) was introduced from the Mohammedan Orient; then came various crude attempts to make printed pages of books by engraved blocks of wood. The glory

<sup>1</sup> See p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> At first the compass was merely a magnetic needle floating on a cork upon a pail of water or oil. In Italy the idea developed of hanging it upon a metal pivot beneath a glass cover. It now became really available for mariners.



of inventing printing, however, belongs not to Italy, but to Germany. About 1440, **John Gutenberg** began at Strassburg to attempt to cast a font of type from metal. Having withdrawn to Mainz, about 1456, he issued a Bible — the first printed book ever published. The expert Italian manuscript copyists sneered at first at the work of the clumsy hand-presses, but the value of the “German art” (as it was rightly called) was almost instantly recognized. By 1500, there were printing-presses in every Christian country of Europe, and between 1460 and 1525 one after another of the great authors of antiquity were finding their way into print, and becoming available for even very humble scholars.<sup>1</sup> Every modern writing of worth was, of course, printed. The importance of Gutenberg’s invention proved, therefore, incalculable; “and, from the day of the discovery of printing, humanity has made more progress in four hundred and fifty years, than it had made in the three thousand or four thousand years preceding. Printing has been and is still the indispensable instrument of all progress and all liberty.”<sup>2</sup>

**118. *The Northern Renaissance.*** At first this great intellectual and artistic movement was confined largely to Italy, but by 1500, swarms of Northern scholars, French, English, and German, were finding their way to the bright land beyond the Alps and returning home with ideas which were destined to revolutionize the life and thought of their nations. Paris, Oxford, and the German universities became seats of Greek learning. The art of Italy inspired such German painters as **Dürer** (d. 1528) and **Holbein** (d. 1543). As a rule the Northern apostles of the new learning were more moderate and contained than the Italians. There was less indiscriminate admiration of antiquity: greater regard for the old moralities. The most

<sup>1</sup> It has been well pointed out that in 1500 one could buy, for the equivalent of fifty cents, a printed book whereof the manuscript in 1450 would have cost over fifty dollars.

<sup>2</sup> Malet.



famous figure in the Northern Renaissance was **Erasmus**, of Rotterdam, in Holland (d. 1536), a scholar of remarkable acuteness and learning, who devoted so much of his energies to a shrewd criticism of the abuses in the Church that he was considered a forerunner of Luther, although, when Luther's revolt actually did break out, he declined to join the religious radicals.

By 1517, to sum up, a new spirit had possessed itself of the minds and the attitude toward life of thinking men throughout Europe. In that year the new spirit displayed itself in reference to the Church.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Bologna; Salerno; Paris; Thomas Aquinas; Scholastic Learning; Divine Comedy; Petrarch; *Decameron*; "Virtue," Chrysoloras; Gothic Architecture; Renaissance Architecture; John Gutenberg; Erasmus.
2. The nature of the early university.
3. What is meant by "Schoolman"?
4. Did the "scholastic" learning help in the progress of civilization?
5. Why did the Renaissance begin in Italy?
6. Is economic prosperity always accompanied by an increase in general culture?
7. What did Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio contribute toward the "Revival of Learning"?
8. Why was a knowledge of Latin literature less valuable, from the point of view of the Renaissance, than a knowledge of Greek literature?
9. What effect did the capture of Constantinople in 1453 have upon the spread of a knowledge of Greek?
10. How did the revival of the classical learning affect the manner of learning?
11. How did it affect art?
12. Why were the new inventions of the period important?
13. Would gunpowder and printing play an important part in the history of the New World? Why?
14. How was the spirit of the Renaissance carried northward?
15. What was the difference between the Italian and the Northern Renaissance?
16. The influence of Erasmus.



## EXERCISES

1. The earlier universities — when, where, and how did they originate?
2. The “trivium” and “quadrivium.”
3. Famous “Schoolmen.”
4. Scholasticism.
5. The scientific knowledge of the Middle Ages.
6. Dante as a scientist.
7. What was the attitude of Petrarch toward Aristotle?
8. The meaning of “humanism.”
9. Typical Italian Despots, especially Ferrante of Naples, Ludovico il Moro (Sforza), Lorenzo de Medici, and Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini.
10. Savonarola.
11. What is meant by the revival of the “classic influence” in Italian art? By studying pictures, tell how the general treatment, and techniques of Giotto and Raphael differ; and the sculpture of Donatello and Michael Angelo.
12. Early books and printing.
13. The Renaissance in northern and western Europe.
14. The careers of Erasmus, Dürer, and Holbein the Younger.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapters XXI, XXVI. Robinson: nos. 182-96, 217-30, 231a-31b.

*Modern accounts.* Emerton: chapter XIII. Bémont and Monod: pp. 515-27. Seignobos: pp. 125-32, 225-28, 235-38, 268-82. Symonds: *passim*. Pattison: pp. 165-89.



## CHAPTER XIX

### THE WORLD AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

119. *The state of France.* By the year 1500, the map of Europe had begun to assume a shape which would seem familiar even at the present day. Certain countries were still backward and divided by the discredited relics of feudalism, but others had become powerful centralized "nation-states." The most notable of these was France.<sup>1</sup> From the wreck and ruin of the Hundred Years' War she had recovered with that alacrity which is a French characteristic. Under a very remarkable king, **Louis XI** (1461-83), a person of vulpine and mysterious character, but of really statesmanlike ability, she had continued to consolidate her government and increase her general prosperity. Louis, in particular, had outmaneuvered and compassed the ruin of the great **Charles the Bold** (Duke of Burgundy and Prince of the Low Countries — modern Belgium and Holland), an ambitious prince, who had become an independent king in all but name, and who had come very near to establishing a "third monarchy" between France and Germany.<sup>2</sup> Charles's death left France the richest, best-governed, and most united power in Europe. No one could question the valor of the French nobility whose swords were at their king's disposal; but even more valuable were the constant revenues poured into his coffers by the millions of industrious artisans, peasants, and traders. If France did not at once assume the

<sup>1</sup> What had happened, in effect, was that the king had become incomparably the greatest of the feudal lords, and now, between his "feudal" powers and his "royal" powers, his authority was irresistible.

<sup>2</sup> How Louis XI played the fox against his opponent's lion, undermined Charles's power by intrigues, and finally embroiled him in a disastrous war with the hardy Swiss mountaineers is admirably told in Scott's two novels, *Quentin Durward* and *Anne of Geierstein*.



leadership in Europe which belonged to her by her national genius and by her wealth, it was because of the inferior caliber of the next two generations of her rulers. Charles VIII (1483-98) and Louis XII (1498-1515) were mediocre, over-ambitious kings, who wasted their subjects' blood and treasure in profitless efforts to conquer Italy — wars which finally ended by delivering that unhappy peninsula over to the despotic power of Spain. Francis I (1515-47), though equally inclined to wasteful wars in Italy, was a great art-patron and probably the chief agent in introducing into France the beauties and ideals of the Italian Renaissance. The famous castle at Blois was built as a palace for him.




**120. The "German" Empire.** France had thus achieved a real nationality. Much less happy was her great neighbor Germany. The failure of her elective sovereigns to conquer Italy in the thirteenth century left her little better than **an ill-compacted federation of feudal princes and "free cities,"** under a ruler who, indeed, still called himself "Cæsar Augustus" and "Holy Roman Emperor," but really possessed only the rights of a president of a league rather than of a true monarch of a nation. "Imperial power" in Italy had long since sunk to a name; while within Germany its extent was usually measured by the personal influence of the Emperor, — who, to be sure, often as hereditary prince of a considerable dominion, might be a decidedly formidable personage.

Some of these somewhat inglorious Emperors were really important figures in history. **Rudolf of Hapsburg** (1273-91) started his career as merely a petty prince with dominions in modern Switzerland,<sup>1</sup> and ended by transmitting to his sons the hereditary rights to the valuable "Austrian lands" — the territories around Vienna, the nucleus of the present-day

<sup>1</sup> One of the reasons why Rudolf was elected was because he seemed too insignificant to curb his fellow princes. From the "Hapsburg" line which he founded are descended the present Emperor of Austria and the King of Spain. It is one of the most famous dynasties in history.



# CONTINENTAL EUROPE IN THE XVI CENTURY

-  Bounds of the Empire, in 1559.
-  Lands, which in addition to Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and the Netherlands, belonged to Philip II
-  Venetian Lands.
- Cities underlined are Spanish possessions in Africa.









Austrian Empire. Another Emperor, Charles IV, a practical, conservative ruler, issued, in 1356, the "**Golden Bull**" — a kind of constitution for the German Empire, especially regulating the method of electing the Emperor, and so diminishing the chances of civil war.<sup>1</sup> In 1500, the reigning Emperor was



THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV DINING IN STATE

Served by the Elector Palatine. (*From a manuscript copy of the Golden Bull, in the Library of Vienna*)

**Maximilian**, a chivalrous monarch of the Hapsburg line, who has been well called "the last of the knights," both from his valorous, visionary character, and the ludicrous difference between his soaring schemes for "conquering the world" and their repeated and absurd failures. As ruler of the ample "Austrian lands," he was, nevertheless, a powerful sovereign, but in the rest of Germany he was treated with more lip service than obedience.

The real government of Germany was vested in the very

<sup>1</sup> The Electors who alone could choose the Emperors — the greatest princes, therefore, of the Empire — were: —

A. (Spiritual Electors) —

- (1) Archbishop of Mainz.
- (2) Archbishop of Treves.
- (3) Archbishop of Cologne.

B. (Temporal Electors) —

- (4) Duke of Saxony.
- (5) King of Bohemia.
- (6) Count Palatine of the Rhine.
- (7) Markgraf of Brandenburg.

From 1440 down to Napoleon's time only once, however, was an Emperor chosen who did not belong to the Hapsburg dynasty, which thus came to consider the election as almost its prescriptive right.



numerous “**electors**,” “**dukes**,” “**markgrafs**,” “**counts** of the Empire,” and “**free cities**.” Practically speaking, these powers were semi-independent, waging war and making treaties and local laws in true feudal style. The largest of these principalities (e.g., Saxony) were really small kingdoms; the smallest, the “**Ritters**” (knights’) holdings, were mere patches of ground with a small castle and a few starving peasants. A match for any save the mightiest princes were the larger free cities like great Nuremberg in the South and lordly Lübeck on the Baltic,<sup>1</sup> — magnificently built cities, full of industry and commerce; rivals of the Italian city-states in their elegance, and in the refined homes of their merchant princes; and governed by city aristocracies whose enterprise and wealth often put them far ahead of the old landed nobility.

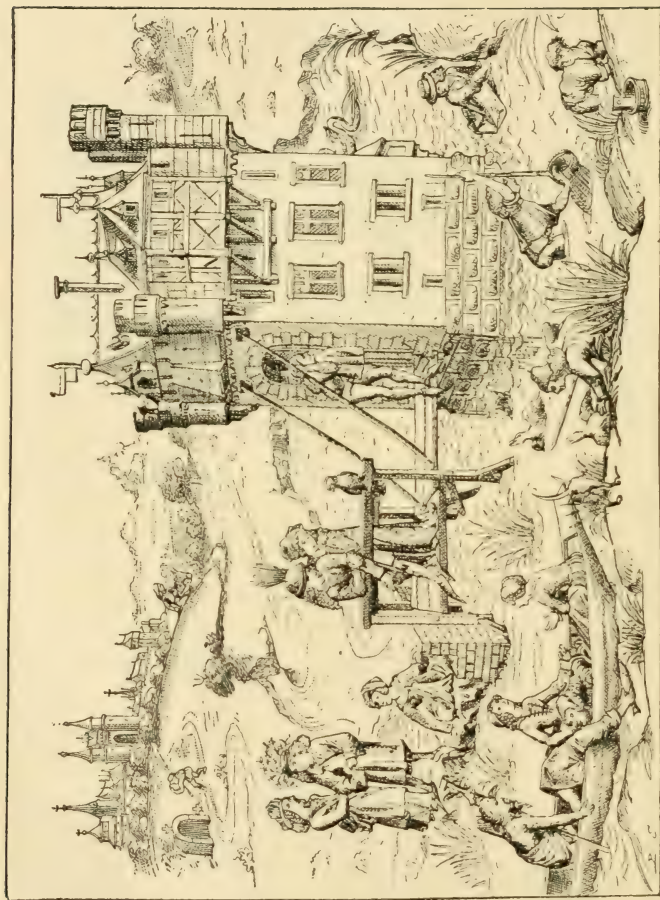
From time to time an **Imperial Diet** met — a gathering of the multitude of princes or their envoys and of the deputies of the free cities. The Emperor presided; there was enormous pomp, ceremony, feasting, and hard drinking. But the Diet was **a most ineffective organ**. The discordant elements united on a common decree only with ponderous slowness. Such a decree, once promulgated, was almost non-enforcible. Frequently a state would refuse to enforce an unwelcome decree, and in that case the only remedy was to declare war upon the offender. Common taxation for the whole “**Empire**” was often almost impossible. “**Private wars**” were frequent. “**Robber knights**” “let their horses bite off traveler’s purses.”<sup>2</sup> There were thus many tokens of public anarchy. Yet this is only one side of the picture. Many of the principalities were well governed. A great spirit of enterprise and a ready acceptance

<sup>1</sup> Lübeck was the presiding city of the great *Hanseatic League* of cities of North Germany, especially those along the North Sea and Baltic, — a confederacy which for a long time controlled the trade in those parts and fought on equal terms with the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden.

<sup>2</sup> A rhyme current among lawless peasants ran: —

“To ride and to rob is no shame!  
The best in the land do the same!”





GERMAN COUNTRY HOUSE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY  
(From a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Germanic Museum, Nürnberg)



of new ideas had permeated the bulk of the population. There was a great zeal to develop schools, and to found universities in all the important states. Also Germans were very proud of the "Fatherland" and jealous of foreigners. The longing for a united, firm government which should give prosperity at home and glory abroad was very great. There was also a strong current of feeling that all was not well with the Church, and that here, too, must come a radical reformation.

**121. *The coming of Spain.*** By 1500 a new Christian power had begun to interfere in the affairs of Europe — the united



A SPANISH CAMP

Note the mediæval tents. (*From a late thirteenth-century manuscript in the Escorial Library, Madrid*)

**monarchy of Spain.** Very slowly in their northern mountains had the Spanish Christians rallied after the Moslems had overwhelmed their land (eighth century). Foot by foot, mile by mile, all through the age of the Carolingians and the German Ottos and Hohenstaufen, the Christians had won back, first the center, then the richer southern part of their peninsula. Frenchmen had gone only occasionally on crusades. **To the Spaniard, life was one continuous crusade against the ever-present infidel.** The story of these "holy" wars and of the rise of new Christian kingdoms is very confusing. By about



1250, nearly all the land had been recovered, save where, in the far south, in the small but fertile and populous kingdom and city of Granada,<sup>1</sup> the Moors had made a last stand, and the Christians were for many years too hampered by their own feuds to expel them.

The growth of the Christian powers in Spain had been spasmodic, and sorely retarded by more than the usual number of feudal wars and dynastic contests. On the northeast had developed the kingdom of **Aragon**; in the center, the greatest of these kingdoms, **Castile**; on the west, small but full of maritime enterprise, **Portugal**.<sup>2</sup> Days of internal peace and of foreign power dawned when, in 1469, **Ferdinand**, the heir to Aragon, **wedded Isabella the Catholic**, the high-minded Queen of Castile. Immediately the royal power in the united monarchy took a notable bound forward. The first fruits came in 1492, when the last Moorish king sadly surrendered Granada and the country was clear of the infidel. That same year the Italian **Columbus**, with Spanish ships and Spanish patronage, landed in the New World, and the great story of the Spanish Empire in America was begun.

In 1500, Spain was a comparatively new country; her people, brave, ingenious, and ambitious, but full of pride and haughtiness, and just released from the familiar task of war with the Moslem, were ready for any kind of high enterprise. They were intensely devoted to the Catholic Church, and ready to fly to the defense of their religion at the first summons. Their kings shared their religious zeal and their ambitions.<sup>3</sup> For a hundred

<sup>1</sup> At that city, of course, is the famous Alhambra, the marvelously beautiful Moorish palace described by Washington Irving. In most of the arts of peace, the Moors of Granada surpassed the Spaniards who conquered them.

<sup>2</sup> In the mountain district between France and Spain there lay also the very small kingdom of *Navarre*, which was presently absorbed between the two countries; Spain getting Navarre proper; France, Béarn, the district north of the Pyrenees.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noticing that the perpetual warfare with the Moslem, extending as it did over nearly eight hundred years, had almost unfitted the Spanish



years Spanish valor and American gold made those kings almost the first monarchs in Christendom.

**122. *The coming of the Turks.*** In the East a new power was also rising, a far more sinister one than Spain: — **the Moham-medan Turks were now in Europe.**

After the Fourth Crusade the Greeks had, indeed, recovered Constantinople (1261), but the power of these successors of the old East Romans had been exhausted. Various races like the Serbs pressed them hard in the Balkan Peninsula. In Asia Minor, the tribe of Ottoman Turks took the offensive; tore away the last Christian cities there; then forced their way into Thrace. In 1361, the great city of Adrianople fell into their hands, and from this capital they reached out and conquered the neighboring Serbs and Bulgarians. **Constantinople**, itself, thanks to its admirable site and fortifications, **still defied them**; but long ere the final catastrophe, the "Greek Emperor" had been stripped of nearly all his dominions outside the very suburbs of his capital.<sup>1</sup>

At last, **in 1453, the hour of doom came.** Mohammed II blockaded the old city of the Cæsars by land and sea with all his hordes of Orientals. The last Emperor, Constantine XII (Palæologus), a hero worthy of his great name, made a desperate defense, but his case was hopeless. His city was cut off from the rest of Europe. His appeals for help to the Western Powers were met only by a few reinforcements from Genoa and Venice. The newly invented siege-guns used by the Turks beat down the old towers and battlements which had defied the enemies of "New Rome" so long. On May 29, 1453, Constantine died fighting in the breach of the city he could not save, and the Turks sacked Constantinople with true Eastern fury and cruelty. Mohammed II rode in triumph to the peoples for most peaceful activities. They had developed very little industrial ability. They were almost a race of professional soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> He retained some districts in southern Greece, down to the actual taking of Constantinople.



famous Church of St. Sophia, where the Moslem crier summoned the faithful to worship "the One Allah and his Prophet." A great chapter of history had been ended, and the ever troublous "Eastern Question" had been begun for Europe.

The fall of Constantinople was followed by the more complete subjugation of Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece proper by the Turks, and the partial conquest of Hungary. In 1529, the great Sultan, Soliman the Magnificent, was barely repulsed before the German imperial capital of Vienna. For the next century and a half the "Cross" and the "Crescent" continued their doubtful battle in Eastern Europe, and only slowly did the scales begin to incline toward the Christians.

It is fair to say that **this intrusion of the Turks into Europe was an unmitigated curse.** They were a race of rude soldiers with only a veneer of even Oriental civilization. They brought with them an alien religion and a government that was an absolute despotism.<sup>1</sup> Their coming involved war, misery for innocent non-combatants, and the ruin of commerce and peaceful industry. In fine, this very real "Turkish peril" forms the dark background to the story of Christendom down to at least the year 1700.

**123. The military revolution caused by gunpowder.** During this age a new military factor was working wide political results. **Gunpowder was more than an improved agent for murdering men. It was a prime factor in destroying the relics of feudalism.** As early as 1300, clumsy "bombards," to hurl stone balls propelled by the mysterious black dust, had been used to batter down fortresses. From 1400 onward, "hand-guns" and "arquebuses" began to compete with the old longbows and crossbows in open battles. Clumsy as these weapons were, their presence was speedily felt in warfare.

<sup>1</sup> What made the Turkish régime more obnoxious was the fact that for three hundred years their best army corps, the *Janizaries*, was recruited by a tax levied on the Christian subjects — a tax payable in young boys who were torn



(a) Even a very feeble battering-train could demolish a feudal castle. It was impossible any longer for a baron with a few followers to "drop his portcullis and defy the king": his walls would soon be tumbling down about his ears. Every new cannon was an argument for royal as against feudal power.

(b) The musket ("arquebus"), although at first absurdly slow-firing and unwieldy, very soon had the most heavily armored knight at its mercy. Any clod-ploughing peasant could discharge the bullet which might annihilate the great seigneur. The day of the cavalier in "armor of proof" vanished forever; — another gain for democracy.<sup>1</sup>

**124. *The expansion of the world by foreign discoveries.*** During the Middle Ages the human horizon had been fearfully contracted. The broad Atlantic had stretched away as a "Sea of Darkness," inhabited if at all by terrible monsters. From the Orient had come wild, vague tales of India and of Zipango (Japan) and Cathay (China). Now the scope of geographical knowledge was widening with extraordinary rapidity; and with this geographical knowledge went a general spirit of receptivity to new ideas. As early as 1295, **Marco Polo**, a bold Venetian, had returned to his native city with great tales of his residence in Tartary and China at the court of the "Grand Khan"; but it took two centuries for Europe and the Far

from their parents, then taught Mohammedanism, and trained to be devoted fighters for the Sultan.

<sup>1</sup> Of course the English longbow had already done much in this direction (see p. 169); but to become a good bowman required a very special training, while infinitely less training was needed to manage an arquebus. So great, however, was the skill of the English archers that in England the bow was retained as a serious fighting weapon long after the coming of gunpowder.

One of the early uses of gunpowder was *to scare the enemy's horses!* This was especially the case, according to one account, at the battle of Crécy.

There is a droll story of how several of the petty German princes clubbed together to purchase *one cannon*, which they passed around among themselves, to beat down the castles of the defiant robber knights in their respective dominions.



Orient to enter really into direct contact. All through the fifteenth century hardy Portuguese navigators had been feeling their way ever farther down the west coast of Africa. Almost simultaneously now came the discovery of the New World and of the road to the Far East. In 1492, Columbus (a Genoese navigator, but with Spanish ships) landed in the West Indies, seeking "golden Zipango" and discovering a new continent by accident. In 1498, the Portuguese **Vasco da Gama** swept into the Indian harbor of Calicut, soon to sail back with a cargo



THE FLEET OF THE GRAND KHAN

of spices, jewels, and muslins, and with the report of a better route to the golden East. In 1520, **Magellan** was to round the southern cape of Patagonia; and his ship returned to Spain with the first story of the circumnavigation of the globe (1522).<sup>1</sup> Deeds like these were enough to herald a new age.

#### 125. *General unrest of the times.* The Italian Renaissance

<sup>1</sup> Magellan himself (a Portuguese, but in Spanish service) perished in the Philippine Islands, after successfully conducting a marvelous voyage across the broad Pacific. As a mere achievement of daring, his expedition far exceeded that of Columbus. (See John Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. II, pp. 191 ff., for an excellent account.)



had wrought a great change in man's whole attitude toward the world and life within it. The new inventions<sup>1</sup> and the new geographical discoveries were unsettling old beliefs, and making even very conservative persons open to all manner of new ideas. In place of feudal kingdoms there were appearing — at least, in France, England, and Spain — solidly compacted monarchies. The rapid development of commerce and industry, and the premium now put upon wealth and not birth, were destroying the prestige and influence of the old-time nobilities. Serfdom had disappeared in many Christian lands, and seemed dwindling in most of the others. In short, by 1500 nearly every time-honored human idea and institution had been essentially modified save only the Catholic Church. Could that alone go through the changes of the age unscathed? The answer came from Germany in 1517.

#### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Louis XI; Rudolph of Hapsburg; the Golden Bull; Electors; Ritter; Diet; Hanseatic League; Alhambra; Ottoman Turks; St. Sophia; Soliman the Magnificent; Janizaries; Marco Polo.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Mainz; Trèves; Cologne; Nuremberg; Lübeck; Granada; Aragon; Castile; Portugal; Navarre; Adrianople; Constantinople.
  - (b) Mark the bounds of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Turkey in Europe about 1500.
3. The work of Louis XI.
4. What were the reasons for the failure of Germany to achieve "a real nationality"?
5. What did Rudolph of Hapsburg and Charles IV contribute to the development of the Empire?
6. What was the origin of Austria?
7. What made possible the wealth and refinement of such cities as Venice, Lübeck, and Antwerp?
8. What conditions favorable for the development of a "nation-state" existed in Germany about 1500?
9. Why had not Spain taken a prominent part in European affairs before 1500?

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 212.



10. What conditions among the Mohammedans aided the Christians to recover Spain?
11. What was accomplished by Ferdinand and Isabella in the development of Spain?
12. What prevented an earlier conquest in Europe by the Ottoman Turks?
13. Mohammed II is known as "the Conqueror." Why?
14. The effects upon the Balkan Peninsula of the conquests by the Turks. Compare with the effects upon the Spanish Peninsula of the conquest by the Saracens.
15. How did gunpowder help the growth of democracy?
16. What had been accomplished in discovery by 1525?
17. How would the discoveries affect European civilization?

### EXERCISES

1. Louis XI and Charles the Bold.
2. The Italian Wars.
3. The Golden Bull of Charles IV.
4. The Hanseatic League (Hansa).
5. The Christian Reconquest of Spain.
6. The Alhambra.
7. How did the expulsion of the Moors affect the economic conditions in Spain?
8. Columbus at the Court of Spain.
9. The government of Spain about 1500.
10. Cardinal Ximenes and the Church in Spain.
11. Why did not Christian Europe unite to repel the Turks?
12. Constantine XII (Palæologus).
13. Compare the sack of Constantinople by the Christians (1204) with that by the Turks.
14. The invention and early uses of gunpowder.
15. Geographical knowledge before 1492.
16. Prince Henry the Navigator and the Portuguese sailors.
17. The ships of the period.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Ogg: chapter XXIV, section 72. Robinson: nos. 203-04, 231, 232, 233-38.

*Modern Accounts.* Bémont and Monod: pp. 474-79. Duruy: pp. 247-313, 319-24. Lewis: pp. 235-353. Seignobos: pp. 187-91, 211-62. Gibbin: pp. 105-09. Pattison: pp. 144-64, 190-214. Lodge: chapter 1.



## CHAPTER XX

### THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

126. *The state of the Church in the sixteenth century.* In 1517, even devout friends of the Catholic Church admitted that the great fabric was full of evils. The reigning Pope Leo X was an upright, well-intentioned ruler personally, but he was far more intent on strengthening his political position as an Italian prince, and playing the patron to poets and artists,<sup>1</sup> than in cleansing the Church of its obvious abuses. There were many worthy bishops, but as a rule to be a bishop meant to be a great nobleman who entered the Church as a "career" with a view to the financial, political, and social advantages. The friar movement of St. Francis and St. Dominic had lost much of its noble impulse. The friars were now charged with averaging more idle, more greedy, more morally worthless than the ordinary monks. The regular priests also were often charged with gross ignorance, with neglecting their parishes, and with leading unworthy lives to the detriment of their credulous laity. As for the Papal Court at Rome, all sorts of worldliness, financial greediness, extreme luxury, and downright immorality were constantly imputed even to the highest cardinals. No doubt there was much exaggeration in these charges: it was easy for one rascally churchman to destroy the effect of the good deeds of a dozen pious men; — nevertheless, many ugly facts appeared to remain. The world was advancing, but in the great Church evils seemed every day more prominent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among his favorites at court were Raphael and Michael Angelo.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic scholars of the present day admit all these facts, but declare that the remedy was one calling for the peaceful internal *reform* of the Church: not



Yet this Church was still acknowledged throughout all Western Christendom: all attempts to alter its body of doctrines and scheme of government had failed. Men might deplore "the worldliness of Rome," yet still profess firm loyalty to priest, bishop, and Papacy. There were no more outward signs of a great religious revolt in 1516 than in 1416.<sup>1</sup> Then suddenly forces, long at work silently, manifested themselves. In a surprisingly short time Western Christendom was split into two hostile camps, not even at this present day united. All great movements, however, usually revolve around a leader; — the Protestant Revolt or Reformation revolves around the person of the German friar, Martin Luther.

**127. *The early career of Martin Luther.*** It is safe to say that there would have been a marked religious change in any event. It is also safe to say that **Martin Luther gave his own personal stamp and impetus to the new movement.** The main facts of his life are fundamentals in the world's history. He was born a Saxon peasant in 1483; and worked his way through the schools at Eisenach and through the University of Erfurt by self-denial and begging.<sup>2</sup> His friends expected him to become a lawyer; but in 1505, being in great fear for the salvation of his soul, he amazed them by becoming a friar. In the convent he practiced every monkish mortification, but only found peace for his soul upon being convinced that merely the "free grace of God," not any personal self-righteousness, could bring salvation to the penitent sinner. He became **Professor of Theology in the Saxon University of Wittenberg;** and was soon famous as a theological lecturer and as a preacher of

a violent *revolution* in which the whole fabric of the Church, not simply the abuses, was demolished.

<sup>1</sup> Nor so many signs, perhaps: the memory of the heretic John Hus (see p. 199) would, in 1416, still have been keen.

<sup>2</sup> Luther's father had prospered enough to be of some assistance to him when he went to the university. — Attempts to explain the Protestant Reformation as a merely social and economic movement, and to ignore Luther, are very futile.

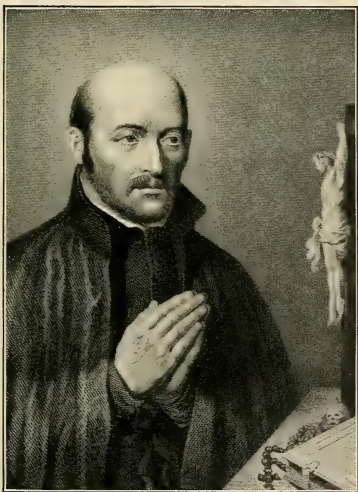




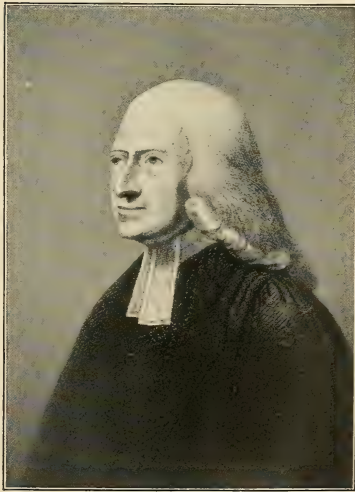
MARTIN LUTHER  
Leader of German Reformation  
Born 1483      Died 1546



DESIDERUS ERASMUS  
Dutch scholar  
Born 1466(?)      Died 1536



IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA  
Spanish founder of Society of Jesus  
Born 1491      Died 1556



CHARLES WESLEY  
English Methodist preacher  
Born 1707      Died 1788

## LEADERS OF BELIEF







divine grace and righteousness to the laity. He was praised for his eloquence, learning, and piety. In normal times he might have become a bishop. Then, in 1517, he did a deed which made all Europe talk of him.

**128. *Tetzel, and Luther's Theses (1517).*** To raise money for building the new Cathedral of St. Peter, at Rome, the church authorities had commissioned one **John Tetzel**, a friar, to preach and sell valuable **indulgences** through North Germany.<sup>1</sup> These remissions from the penances due for sin were only valid when not merely a price had been paid, but also when the purchaser had professed real sorrow for his evil actions; however, there is little doubt that Tetzel exceeded his commission.<sup>2</sup> The indulgences were sold for a round price, and Tetzel was anxious to report as large sales as possible. In his noisy sermons through the German cities he seems to have said much of the money, little of the contrition.<sup>3</sup> Untaught peasants, at least, gained the belief that the purchase of an indulgence squared all accounts with Heaven, and left one shriven and sinless. When Tetzel preached and sold in Jüterbog, a town near Wittenberg, the accounts of his doings which came thence aroused Luther to drastic action.

On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the

<sup>1</sup> The indulgences were not (as Protestants often believe) "forgivenesses of sins"; they were only the remission of the penances — fasts, alms deeds, pilgrimages, etc. — which the priest could require of one who professed sorrow for his misdeeds and asked for absolution. At the same time, many Catholic scholars admit that the theory was one open to abuses if not carefully safeguarded, and that Tetzel was a very unworthy, rapacious man.

<sup>2</sup> What made the case more objectionable was that the Archbishop of Mainz (who had sent out Tetzel) was heavily in debt to the Fuggers — a great banking-house of Augsburg. A clerk of the Fuggers accompanied Tetzel, and appropriated a large share of the indulgence money to pay his employers — a highly "secular" proceeding!

<sup>3</sup> Most dubious of all were his urgings that people buy indulgences for their relatives then in the fires of purgatory.

"The money in the strong box rings —

The ransomed soul to heaven upsprings!" —

is the scandalous rhyme imputed to him.



“Castle Church,”<sup>1</sup> in Wittenberg, ninety-five “theses,” or statements relative to indulgences, in which he attacked the methods of Tetzel, and by implication cast doubts upon the whole value of the documents. Luther had no intention (he later said) of questioning any of the great doctrines of the Church or the authority of the Pope. But it was soon plain that he had stirred up a hornet’s nest. The “Theses” were printed and distributed over all Germany. Instantly he was both praised and blamed with extreme violence: praised for daring to attack a greedy monk who was deluding the laity, blamed for assailing by insinuation the fundamental power and prerogatives of the Pope (whose license Tetzel bore). Tetzel himself and his friends retaliated with venomous counter-theses. All intelligent Germany began to take sides.

**129. *The hearing before Cajetan* (1518).** At first Pope Leo regarded the trouble as an unimportant “monks’ quarrel.” But it was soon evident that something must be done “to quench the flames.” It was not enough to repudiate Tetzel.<sup>2</sup> Luther (and the learned friends who had rallied around him), in trying to justify their first attack on the indulgence-hawker, were using new arguments which seemed to involve the underlying doctrines of the Church. In 1518, Luther was cited before the papal legate, the Cardinal Cajetan, at Augsburg. The cardinal was a kindly and blameless man, anxious to see good in Luther, but he firmly pressed for a “recantation.” Luther tried to justify the points at issue with arguments. This was not what Cajetan wanted: the bold friar must submit without argument to the declared teachings of the Church. Really

<sup>1</sup> This was the regular bulletin board for the notices at the University of Wittenberg. Luther did not advance his theses as proved facts, but only as theories relative to indulgences which he was ready to defend with arguments (a common academic procedure), but the discussion soon ranged far beyond ordinary university controversy.

<sup>2</sup> Tetzel was later so severely reprimanded for his coarse folly by Miltitz, the Pope’s commissioner to Germany, that he retired to a convent in disgrace, and is said to have died soon after of mortification.



the two men (both sincere and honest) stood on such different grounds that reconciliation was almost impossible. Cajetan was defending the claim of the Church, first, to define the true belief, and then to require all Christians to accept it. Luther was claiming the right of every man to evolve his own personal theology without necessarily accepting the dicta of the Church.<sup>1</sup> This difference was fundamental, and remains fundamental to this day.

“Recant!” at length ordered Cajetan, “or never see my face again.”

Luther refused, and left Augsburg. This was the second step in the great religious revolt.

**130. *The disputation at Leipzig* (1519).** The next year, at Leipzig, Luther joined with a Catholic champion, **Eck**, in a formal public disputation on their differences. More and more Luther had become convinced, as his opponents had pressed him, that the papal authority and all the great Church fabric connected therewith were hopelessly bad, and needed complete reconstruction. At Leipzig, he astonished his hearers by asserting **personal sympathy with the Bohemian Hussites**,<sup>2</sup> long since condemned as heretics by the Church. A like boldness of assertion against Church authority had not been for centuries. Speedily came rumors of a papal bull of excommunication against Luther, and he in turn became defiant. The newly invented printing-press was at his disposal. He had developed a wonderfully trenchant literary style both in Latin (for the learned) and in the popular German.<sup>3</sup> In two great

<sup>1</sup> It is perfectly true that Luther laid great stress upon the teachings of the *Bible* as against the decrees of the Church: seeming simply to substitute one authority for another. But the *Bible* is by no means a book to be received without careful study and interpretation; and then comes in the personal element — every man must make *his own* interpretation of the *Bible*, if he will not let the Church do it for him.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Luther's friends and enemies alike have admitted that a large part of his success came from his matchless literary and argumentative gifts. He is justly criticized for extreme violence of statement and invective, but no one has denied



pamphlets, — “ **The Appeal to the German Nobility** ” and “ **On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church,** ” — he denounced the alleged abuses of Rome in unmeasured terms. No other theological pamphlets ever had such an effect. Public opinion rallied to him — “ a pious German friar attacked by worldly



MARTIN LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION

Italians.” When the papal bull against him was published (1520), a very large fraction of Germany was ready to applaud Luther’s action, as, upon a great public bonfire at Wittenberg, he cast this notice of excommunication, and proclaimed his contempt for “ **Anti-Christ** ” (the Pope) and all his power.

**131. Luther at Worms and the Wartburg (1521–22).** Leo now demanded of the newly elected Emperor, **Charles V**, that he arrest and punish the man whom the law of the Church had condemned. But a great majority of the Germans seemed

that his trenchant pen made his arguments carry double weight. He knew his countrymen thoroughly, and had a marvelous power of appealing to their hopes, fears, prejudices, and patriotism.



to be on Luther's side. A powerful prince — **Frederick the Wise of Saxony** — was his protector. It was impossible to condemn him without a hearing. Although Charles V<sup>1</sup> (Fleming born and of Spanish descent) was a devout Catholic and not unwilling to sustain the Pope, he could not override the wishes of his German subjects too ruthlessly. Luther was accordingly **summoned under safe-conduct to the Imperial Diet at Worms**. Luther's friends told him that he would never be allowed to leave Worms alive, but he was determined to bear his witness: "I will go to Worms," vowed he, "though there be as many devils there as there be tiles on the house-tops!" On April 18, 1521, the peasant's son, in his humble friar's frock, was led in before the august and glittering array of the Emperor, his court, and all the German princes. But to the demand that he recant his writings, Luther was as steadfast as before Cajetan. Finally he was pressed for an unequivocal answer "without horns." "I cannot recant," was the final reply, "unless I be proved in the wrong by Scripture or by plain reasoning. **Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen!**"<sup>2</sup>

Under the law there was only one fate for obvious heretics. Luther was ordered to return to Wittenberg, there to await "the ban of the Empire," and, no doubt, a fiery punishment; but on his way home he was kidnapped by his friends and confined secretly as a prisoner of honor in one of the Elector of Saxony's castles — the famous **Wartburg**, in the beautiful Thuringian forest.<sup>3</sup> While there he **translated the Bible** into

<sup>1</sup> Charles V (Emperor, 1519-56) was, besides holding the imperial crown, the Prince of the Netherlands (Belgium, Holland), and, as grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, the King of Spain and Spanish America. He was an astute and very capable monarch, who fell short by only a little of being one of the world's greatest rulers.

<sup>2</sup> There is some question as to the exact verbal form of Luther's answer. The words given seem, on the whole, well authenticated.

<sup>3</sup> So completely did he disappear that many of his friends believed him dead, and accused the Catholic party of murdering him.



German. His version at once ran into many editions, and became both a German classic and a great weapon for his party. In 1522, Luther ventured to leave the Wartburg and return to Wittenberg. To most Germans he was a national hero. The Emperor was about to plunge into war with France, and dared not alienate the nation by enforcing the ban.

**132. *The spread of the revolt in Germany.*** Luther lived unmolested in Wittenberg till his death in 1546. He was generally counted the mentor and patron of the new movement, but he was no longer essential to its progress. In northern Germany, between 1522 and 1530, the people seem to have revolted against the old Church almost at one bound. Nuns and monks left their convents; priests married;<sup>1</sup> communion was administered in "both kinds";<sup>2</sup> Luther's doctrine of "salvation by grace" (in lieu of pious works) was generally accepted. Many of the princes (e.g., of Saxony and Hesse) joined the movement sometimes from sincere zeal, sometimes because the "Reformation" meant a pretext for confiscating the Church lands. There were, of course, serious setbacks: wild sects of fanatics arose — e.g., the Anabaptists, who found in the Bible justification of open polygamy; and there occurred a great revolt of the peasantry, who, like oppressed wild beasts, seized on the public unrest as an occasion for a revolt against the tyrannous knights and princes, and who were presently put down in blood by the authorities (1524-25). Luther himself, perhaps over-scrupulously, kept on the side of "law and order," and taught his followers to submit to the leadership of the constituted princes. He had his reward, however. Several of the greatest principalities ranged themselves on his side, and were ready to defend "the Reformed Religion" by armed

<sup>1</sup> Luther himself married an ex-nun (Catherine von Bora; "my Kathe"), in 1525.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, both the bread and the wine were given to the laity, not the bread only as in the Catholic Church.





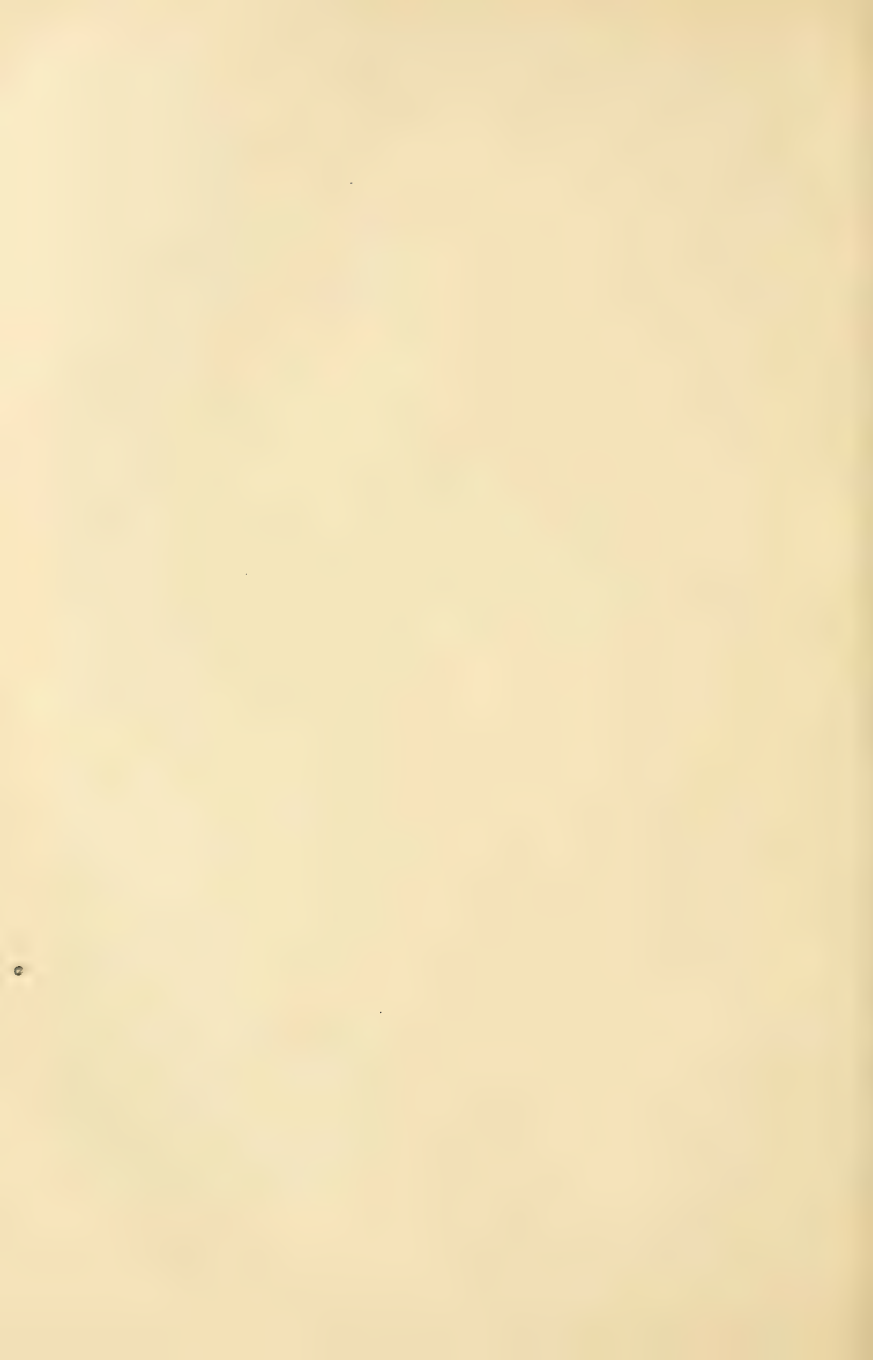
### CHARLES V

Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56)    King of Spain as Charles I (1516-56)

Born 1500

Died 1558







force if need be. In 1529, these Lutheran princes "protested" at the Diet of Spire against the decision to carry out the Edict of Worms (against Luther and his supporters), and so won for themselves and their cause the abiding name of "**Protestants.**" In 1530, the new Lutheran churches united against their foes under a common creed and program, "**The Confession of Augsburg,**" and in 1531, their princes drew together into a close military alliance, **the Schmalkaldic<sup>1</sup> League.**

Meantime throughout Germany every thoughtful man was making his choice — the old Church or the new. Many who had at first applauded Luther drew back, but the bulk of the nation, especially in North and Central Germany, committed themselves to one or another type of "Protestantism."



GERMAN PEDDLER OF THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(From a book by Hans Gantz  
(Frankfort, 1568) describing the various  
trades of the period)

**133. The religious peace of Augsburg (1555).** Hardly was Luther dead (1546) when the Emperor Charles, who had long dissembled his wrath against the German Protestants, owing to his embroilments with France, sought to enforce the ban against heresy. The forces of the Schmalkaldic League were routed, its leading princes imprisoned; Charles made certain promises of tolerance for a few Protestant tenets; yet **the whole movement seemed doomed.** But the Lutherans found a new champion in the Elector Maurice of Saxony, a former supporter of the Emperor, although a Protestant, who now fell out with his master, and suddenly (1552) turned his arms

<sup>1</sup> The name comes from the town (Schmalkalden) where the league was organized.



against him.<sup>1</sup> Charles, who had believed he had Germany at his mercy, was obliged to fly, ill with gout, in a litter over the snowy Alps from Innsbruck to avoid capture by Maurice. **The attempt to conquer the Protestants had failed:** more particularly as they could always look for aid to Charles's arch enemy — France. The Emperor in despair concluded a preliminary treaty (at Passau), which became a permanent peace at Augsburg (1555).

**The compact of Augsburg was a compromise** satisfactory to neither party, but perhaps as good as could be secured at the moment. It was agreed that the Lutherans (adherents of the "Confession of Augsburg") should be tolerated in as many districts of Germany as were then ruled by Lutheran princes (about two thirds of Germany). **The religion of the prince thus became the religion of the region,** — an absurd decision; for what if the prince changed his own religion — must his subjects change also? <sup>2</sup> What of the districts where a non-Lutheran type of Protestantism prevailed, or which became Protestant *after* the treaty? Obviously here was the certain source of later conflict. Nevertheless, this rough-and-ready agreement was to serve to keep the peace in Germany for over fifty years; and at the time of its making many good men were justified in considering it only provisional: — would not one religion surely absorb the other? For to expect that Christendom would remain permanently split into two great opposing camps was contrary to all past theory and experience.

**134. Zwingli and Calvin in Switzerland.** Luther's great strength had been in his ability to appeal to his own German countrymen. In non-German lands Lutheranism had much less

<sup>1</sup> Maurice was by no means an ideal character. He had supported Charles long enough to win for himself the Electorate of Saxony, formerly held by his kinsmen. Of course, he alleged various personal and religious grievances for his attack upon the Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Cases actually arose where, e.g., a Catholic prince was succeeded by a Protestant, and all his subjects were required to change their faith or migrate. Then a Catholic ruler would come in again and the whole process be reversed.



success. It wrested the Scandinavian kingdoms from the old Church, but in Switzerland and the French borderlands, it halted before a rival type of Protestantism which revolved around the leaders Zwingli and Calvin.

**Zwingli**, a priest in the Swiss city of **Zürich**,<sup>1</sup> had begun, as early as 1519, an attack upon Catholic practice and doctrine even more violent and far-reaching than that of Luther. He differed, too, from Luther in being more of a politician and less of a theologian. He was actually slain in battle between the Zürichers and the Swiss Catholics in 1531, but notwithstanding his overthrow a large part of Switzerland became Protestant.

In 1536 appeared at the city of **Geneva**, in French Switzerland, the man who next to Luther became the prime leader of Protestantism. **John Calvin** was a Frenchman with the French spirit of logical thoroughness. His book, "**The Institutes of the Christian Religion**," was a marvelously effective presentation of the extreme Protestant case. For many years Calvin practically reigned as the "senior pastor" over the little city-republic of Geneva, and made it the center for an anti-Catholic movement which gave the tone to the leading Protestant churches of France, Holland, and especially Scotland and England.<sup>2</sup> Calvin was a stern, unsympathetic leader. His capital doctrine of **predestination** has been in later ages bitterly criticized. He used his great influence at Geneva to send to the stake **Servetus** (1553) accused of the "unitarian" heresy. But he was able to put a fighting spirit into his followers which was to carry his aggressive type of Protestantism into

<sup>1</sup> The Swiss Cantons at that time still retained some nominal connection with "the Empire," but they were for all practical purposes independent of Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the leading Protestant denominations of America, except the Lutherans, Universalists, and Unitarians, derive their fundamental theology from Calvin. Calvin differed from Luther on various theological points — e.g., the nature of the Lord's Supper; but the decisive difference was this: — Luther tried to retain *as much* of the old usage as possible, Calvin to reduce it to a minimum.



countries which had little sympathy with the Germanism of Luther.

**135. *The Council of Trent and the Catholic reaction.*** Meantime the Catholics had rallied. If the Germanic North of Europe seemed largely lost, the latinized South was successfully defended.<sup>1</sup> Worthy and capable Popes succeeded the worldly ones. The practical abuses whereof the first Protestants complained were abolished, — there was never another Tetzels. Between 1545 and 1563, there met intermittently **the great Council of Trent**, which corrected the usages of churchmen, defined doubtful dogmas upon which the Church had never spoken with authority before, and tightened up the whole Catholic line of defense against the Protestant adversary.<sup>2</sup>

Another great helper came to the papal side. **St. Ignatius de Loyola** (a Spanish nobleman) founded (1534) the “Society of Jesus,” or less officially the “**Order of Jesuits**”: a special religious brotherhood of a new kind whereof the special business should be to aid the Popes in all possible ways against every kind of heresy. The Jesuits mingled in politics, and exerted a potent influence at royal courts; but especially they were interested in founding excellent establishments for the education of Catholic laymen. For the next century and after they were the right arm of the Papacy.

So the sixteenth century saw the great Western Church hopelessly dissevered. Out of the separation were bound to come bloody wars and the rise or ruin of nations.

<sup>1</sup> This line of demarcation was followed down fairly closely: the Catholics kept southern Germany and a considerable number of adherents in Holland. The Protestants won many districts in French (Latin) Switzerland. The Celtic parts of the British Isles divided. Ireland remained, on the whole, Catholic: Scotland and Wales became Protestant.

<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes said that in the Middle Ages the Church left a great many points of faith very indefinite: this had enabled the Protestants to claim that they were “no heretics” in attacking various usages (though not laws) of the Church. Now after Trent the Church system became far more precise and rigid.



## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Indulgences; Luther's Theses; Cajetan; Eck; Charles V; Frederick the Wise; the Wartburg; Protestants; Confession of Augsburg; Schmalkaldic League; Maurice of Saxony; Religious Peace of Augsburg; Zwingli; Servetus; the Society of Jesus.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Eisenach; Erfurt; Wittenberg; Augsburg; Leipzig; Spires; Innsbruck; Zürich; Geneva; Trent.
  - (b) Mark the territories of Charles V in Europe.
3. What evils existed in the Church at the beginning of the sixteenth century? Did the changes produced by the Renaissance make these evils more, or less, apparent?
4. What was Luther's intention in posting his theses?
5. What was Luther's position at the hearing before Cajetan? — at the dispute with Eck? — before the Emperor?
6. Why was not Luther treated as Hus had been? Compare his treatment with that of Wiclif.
7. The progress of the Reformation to 1531.
8. What were the provisions of the Religious Peace of Augsburg?
9. If the Council of Basel had been like the Council of Trent, would there have been a Protestant Revolt?

## EXERCISES

1. The influence of the Renaissance upon the movement for reform.
2. How would the character and aims of the Popes of the Renaissance affect the influence of the Papacy.
3. What was the influence of Erasmus upon Luther?
4. Luther's pamphlets.
5. What classes in Germany were reached by Luther's teachings?
6. Compare Zwingli's teachings with those of Luther.
7. The Swiss Cantons and the Empire.
8. Loyola and the formation of the Jesuit order.
9. The Election of 1519.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 239-62, 277-79.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 262-66, 283-95, 296-98, 305-14. Lewis: pp. 354-98. Pattison: pp. 215-47. Lodge: chapter IV, sections 1-9, 14-16; chapter VI, sections 1-9; chapter VII, all.



## CHAPTER XXI

### THE RELIGIOUS REVOLT IN ENGLAND

136. *Henry VIII (1509-47) — His character and policy.*  
Under existing conditions it is likely that Protestantism would have taken some root in England in any case, no less than in other countries. But England — peculiar in her civilization and her political institutions — could hardly fail to be peculiar in the features of her religious revolt. In her breach with Rome theological questions were sometimes all but obscured by the problems of worldly policy as directed by her masterful king. Henry VIII stands out prominently as one of the most unusual rulers in history.

“ Henry Tudor ” in his youth was handsome and dissipated. In his later days he became portly and sensual; but **with all his shortcomings he was never sottish, never contemptible.** He was almost an “ absolute king ” in his deeds and policy, but he knew how to clothe his tyranny with forms of law, and when to stop on a given road ere he lost the good will of the bulk of his subjects. He could inspire ministers with almost excessive devotion to his cause, then repudiate them when no longer useful and send them ruthlessly to the block. He was an amateur theologian; professed great abhorrence of Lutheranism, and wrote a not unlearned treatise in defense of the Pope; then ended by repudiating the papal power and launching England into bitter war with the Roman Church. He could perpetrate acts of extreme blood and cruelty, justify them in the names of religion and state policy, and probably (so able critics have held) be sincere in believing in his own professions. Finally, he could tear England away from Rome and yet refrain from committing her to any of the usual types of



Protestantism. Henry VIII was, in short, a strange compound of good and evil.<sup>1</sup>

**137. *The divorce of Catherine of Aragon.*** During the earlier years of this young and masterful king his policy was largely shaped by a great chief minister, **Cardinal Wolsey**, who, by skillfully balancing France against Spain and offering the English alliance now to one side, now to the other, in their



CARDINAL WOLSEY AND HIS SUITE

incessant wars, managed to make England a leading power among the nations without committing her to any very extensive or exhausting campaigning. During this time, too, little bands of "Lutheran" sympathizers began to appear in England, only to be suppressed by the royal authorities invoking the old anti-heresy laws. In 1527 came the opening wedge

<sup>1</sup> A large part of Henry's career turned on his six unfortunate and notorious marriages. His wives were: (1) Catherine of Aragon (queen, 1509-33; divorced). (2) Anne Boleyn (1533-36; executed for alleged immorality). (3) Jane Seymour (1536-37; she gave birth to a prince, the later king Edward VI, and died soon after). (4) Anne of Cleves (1540; a foreign princess repudiated within six months after marriage, as homely and socially unattractive). (5) Catherine Howard (1540-42; executed for immorality, probably guilty). (6) Catherine Parr (1543-47; "a discreet lady," who survived the king). Some of these queens are further discussed in the text.



for Henry's breach with Rome. He had married a Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon, but had ceased to love her, and was deeply infatuated with a pretty maid-of-honor — Anne Boleyn. He now made application at Rome for an annulment of the marriage on various technical grounds.<sup>1</sup>

Popes had often in the past been accommodating in the annulling of marriages for powerful kings; but Catherine protested stoutly against the proceeding, and she had a potent advocate in her nephew, the great Emperor Charles V. Pope Clement VII feared Charles (who had just then conquered almost the whole of Italy) far more than he did Henry. After fruitless negotiations and half promises from the Pope, the "process" against Catherine came to nothing, despite the uttermost efforts of Wolsey. The failure cost the chief minister his position and his honors. He was later arrested "for high treason" and died ere being brought to trial (1530). His deathbed words have become famous: "If I had served my God as diligently as I have done my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

Manifestly Henry could not get his divorce from Rome. He now hearkened to councilors who told him he could get his divorce in spite of Rome.

**138. *The break with Rome.*** Protestant opinion was making way in England, although the majority of the people were still quite loyal to the old Church. But **could not one keep the old mass service and ecclesiastical organization, and yet repudiate papal supremacy?** So Henry asserted, and in **Thomas Cromwell**, as his chief minister, and **Thomas Cranmer**, his new Arch-

<sup>1</sup> Henry was able to cover this move with decent pretenses. (1) His own deceased brother had been contracted to Catherine before Henry married her. Under Church law the marriage was therefore void on grounds of "consanguinity," and Henry seems to have had sincere doubts about the validity of his marriage with Catherine, even before he met Anne. (2) Catherine had borne him only a daughter. Unless the king had a male heir, his death might mean a civil war for England.



bishop of Canterbury, he found ready agents for his will.<sup>1</sup> Parliament was completely at the mercy of the royal mandates: "Convocation" (the assembly of the English clergy) was browbeaten into submission. In 1532 and 1534, all *payments* to Rome were stopped by law; in 1533, all *appeals* to the jurisdiction of Rome likewise; in 1534 came the logical climax, — the "Act of Supremacy" declared the king "Supreme Head on Earth, under God, of the Church of England." In other words, Henry substituted *himself* for the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church in England, and the "usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome" was expressly repudiated. Spiritual and temporal monarchy were thus to be yoked together in the same person. This was surely a religious revolt with a vengeance!

At Rome the Pope declared against Henry's application for a divorce, but the king had already transferred the case to the court of his own underling, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer had promptly declared the marriage null, and amid great festivity Henry had wedded Anne Boleyn (1533). She was a coarse and unscrupulous woman, and when her long desired child proved to be only a daughter, her influence over the king seemed to vanish. In 1536, she was accused of immorality, and on the 19th of May was executed. On the 20th of May, the king was married with cynical haste to Jane Seymour. Poor Catherine of Aragon was now dead, but Henry had no intention of seeking reconciliation with Rome. In 1537, Jane bore him a son (Edward VI), but died in childbed. The king now, however, had a lawful and undoubted heir and his position was immensely strengthened.

Before the death of Anne the new religious movement had begun to claim its noble victims. In 1535, **Sir Thomas More**,

<sup>1</sup> These men, indeed, especially Cranmer, were willing to introduce real Protestantism somewhat promptly into England, but the king for long restrained them.



one of the noblest scholars and statesmen of England, died at the block, because his conscience forbade him to accept Henry as his religious ruler in place of the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Meantime Cromwell, the new chief minister, under pretext of ending the idleness, luxury, and vicious living which he asserted he discovered in the English monasteries,<sup>2</sup> had begun a campaign which ended in the confiscation and **dissolution of all the abbeys in England**. By 1539, the monks had been dispersed with often meager pensions, and the great monastic buildings and wide abbey lands seized by the king: — a most worldly-wise measure, for the confiscated properties were duly distributed among the nobility and gentry of England. Forty thousand influential families are thus said to have participated in the spoils of the Church, and almost every beneficiary became, of course, a zealous convert to the new religious system!

**139. *The spread of Protestantism.*** Henry VIII tried, probably genuinely, to make England anti-papal without making her Protestant. A revolt in the North in 1536 (“Pilgrimage of Grace”), repressed, indeed, with much blood, admonished him to go slowly. In 1540, Cromwell lost favor at court and was executed under an “**Act of Attainder.**”<sup>3</sup> Already the old laws against heresy had been sharpened. **Henry tried to make it alike perilous to be either new Protestant or old-line Catholic.** In 1540, in London there perished in one day three “heretics,” who were burned for unorthodox views as to transubstantiation, and three “traitors” who were “hanged, drawn, and

<sup>1</sup> He was the author of the famous book *Utopia*, and was a most distinguished “humanist” and friend of learning. He did not deny Henry’s power as temporal king, but simply refused to take an oath of loyalty to his religious pretensions.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the English monasteries seem to have been grievously corrupt; others austere and well administered. There is little doubt that Cromwell’s commissioners who investigated the monasteries were very unfair men, but the exact facts are hard to reach.

<sup>3</sup> This was a measure of Parliament *declaring* an offender guilty of a great crime and ordering his execution without trial,—a fearful engine when used by a despotic Government.



quartered " for affirming that Catherine of Aragon was not lawfully divorced. But, in truth, the king's position was an untenable one. The current of events was driving him to favor the Protestants, if he would not go back to Rome. The courtiers and bishops were divided, some very conservative, some (with Cranmer at their head) urging more changes. And little by little the Protestant party prevailed. In 1539, an official



ENGLISH WARSHIP OF THE TIME OF HENRY VIII

translation of the Bible had been ordered<sup>1</sup> and its possession allowed to most private persons, although its free use was for a while forbidden to "husbandmen, artificers, journeymen, and to all women below the rank of gentlewoman." This, of course, was a mighty step toward a general religious change; while the next advance — the allowing part of the Church

<sup>1</sup> The first printed English Bible had been published by *William Tyndale*, beginning in 1525. It had to be printed in Germany, owing to official opposition in England. Tyndale's version seems to have been the basis for about all the later translations, including the "King James's Version" — now in general use.



liturgy to be translated into English — followed before Henry's death.

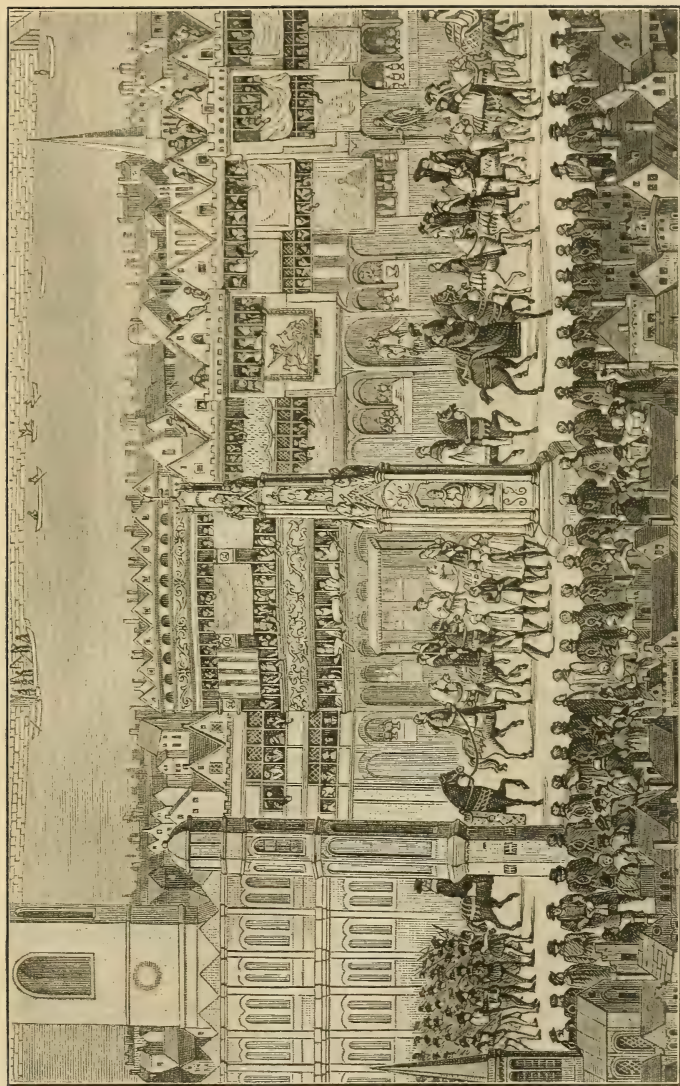
True, almost down to the end the king continued to invoke the bloody laws of persecution almost impartially against both parties, but when he lay on his deathbed it was clear enough that the Protestant faction would control the Government for his son.

Grievously imperfect as he was, Henry VIII can hardly be branded as a failure. The majority of his subjects were always loyal to him. They probably shared his dislike for violent religious changes; and to him can very largely be attributed the "middle course" taken by the English Reformation.

**140. Edward VI (1547-53). *The Protestants control the Government.*** The following reign was one of the most unfortunate in English annals. **The new king was only ten years of age**, of a weakly constitution, and he died ere he really could govern for himself. In his name ruled a council of nobles at first dominated by the **Duke of Somerset** (an upright and just but unpractical man), and after his downfall (1549) by the **Duke of Northumberland**, — a selfish, worthless politician, who covered his unworthy personal intrigues under show of a vast zeal for "Protestantism." The Government was accordingly corrupt, extravagant, rapacious, and unpopular.

Outside of London probably only a minority of the population wished for a religious change, but the new worship was introduced in a wholly violent and tactless way. Under specious pretense of "suppressing Popish superstition" the endowments of churches were confiscated for government favorites, the sacred vessels were melted down, venerated saints' images were destroyed. Most of the country people looked on these desecrations of time-honored objects and institutions with a wrath which blazed up (1549) into popular insurrection that the regents had much trouble to suppress. Various general economic causes — bad harvests, the suppres-





PART OF THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI THROUGH LONDON, 1547

*(Engraving of a picture formerly at Cowdray)*



sion of the monastery doles to the poor, and the conversion of farmlands into sheep pastures — caused starvation and misery for the peasantry, and increased **the detestation of the new system**. The Protestants did not, indeed, lack certain men of capacity and zeal, and it was in this reign that Archbishop Cranmer introduced into the churches the famous **Book of Common Prayer**, which, along with the translated Bible, became one of the literary landmarks of the Reformation in England; yet the haste and general unwisdom of the Reformers was clearly paving the way for a reaction. They completed their blunders when they induced the poor lad Edward VI to execute an illegal will depriving his half-sister Mary of the succession and giving the crown to his cousin, the Lady Jane Grey. Hardly was the will signed ere Edward died, and his realm returned to Catholicism.

**141. Mary Tudor (1553-58) and the Catholic reaction.** Jane Grey (a helpless, innocent girl, the instrument of vile intrigue) was deposed, after a brief "reign" in London, by a general rising all over England in behalf of Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Mary Tudor was now thirty-six years old, a proud-spirited, beautiful woman, and, true to her mother's memory, an ardent Catholic. She regarded the breach with Rome as at once an iniquity and a blunder. Had she been willing to conciliate public opinion, to move slowly, to keep clear of foreign entanglements, and to refrain from the extreme forms of persecution, she could probably have reëstablished the old Church. But she was too ardent and sincere for half-measures: she was often ill-advised. **Her reign proved itself to be one long tragic mistake.**

With almost no resistance the old Latin mass-worship was restored, along with the general religious institutions "most commonly used in England in the last year of King Henry VIII." But Mary wished for more than this. Not merely a return to the old *worship*, but to the old *allegiance* was her



desire; and at a return to dependence on Rome many Englishmen drew the line. Again, Mary offended many staunch supporters by contracting a **most unpopular marriage (1554) with Philip** (eldest son of Charles V, and soon to be King Philip of Spain), a prince, whom, it speedily turned out, Englishmen did well to distrust as a bigoted tyrant.<sup>1</sup>

In 1555, Mary and her council had induced Parliament to revive all the sharpest of the old anti-heresy laws. Most of the Protestant bishops of the last reign were already in prison. Jane Grey (a year earlier) and her more guilty supporters had died on the scaffold for treason, and now the queen's officials could embark on a **vigorous campaign of persecution for heresy**.

In the three years which followed, the Protestants proved that, if they did not know how to govern, they at least knew how to die. The persecution completely effaced the discredit cast upon the Reformers during the last reign. Very few Protestants recanted before the dread alternative—"turn or burn." Many humbly born men and frail women went to the stake very bravely. "Play the man, brother Ridley," spoke the deposed Protestant Bishop Latimer to his fellow victim at Oxford; "we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out." Cranmer, who had at first weakened and promised to recant, finding that his death was, despite all, determined upon, repudiated his recantation. Before a great audience at Oxford, assembled to hear his profession of Catholic faith, he denounced the Pope as "Anti-Christ" and walked firmly to the stake.

Only about two hundred and eighty Protestants were burned in all England, a scant record compared with that usually

<sup>1</sup> It is true, Philip was merely "King Consort," and had to leave all the direct government to Mary and her English councilors: none the less his influence was considered as making for political tyranny and religious persecution. Besides, Englishmen were at this time justly jealous of anything that savored of interference by the overweening power of Spain. That the English did well to mistrust Philip is shown by his whole subsequent career (see chapter XXII).



charged against the Spanish Inquisition, but Englishmen were not Spaniards, and the whole proceedings outraged their sense of justice and decency. The local authorities often hated their work. Outside of London the victims were relatively few. The unfortunate queen, pure-minded and anxious for the highest welfare of her people, in vain urged more energy against the heretics.<sup>1</sup> Every fresh bonfire made converts for the cause she detested.

On other grounds **her reign became intensely unpopular.** Philip involved her in a blundering war with France, whereof the chief result was **the capture by the French of Calais** (1558), the last remaining conquest of the Hundred Years' War. The queen was suffering from an incurable disease. Her hopes for a child to continue her religious policy had come to naught. Her heir was her half-sister Elizabeth (Anne Boleyn's daughter), who must by her very ancestry sympathize with the Protestants. Mary knew she was hated by her people, who waited eagerly for the coming of a new sovereign; she knew that she was discredited in war, and that the persecution was a failure; yet she never discontinued the arrests and burnings. November 17, 1558, Mary Tudor died. She stands as one of the most pathetic figures in English annals.

**142. The economic troubles of the age.** The three reigns we have just described were marked not merely by religious upheaval, but by sore economic confusion and disaster for England. The suppression of the monasteries had substituted for the easy-going, often charitable, monkish landlords a swarm of rapacious courtiers and country squires, who had shared in the royal confiscations and who now wrung the uttermost farthing out of their new and luckless peasant tenantry. The

<sup>1</sup> It is at least a fair question as to how far the queen was personally responsible for the worst phases of the persecution, and how far Bishop Gardiner, her chief minister, and Bishop Bonner of London were responsible. There is not the least doubt of the genuine belief of these men that it was the divine will that all heretics deserved to perish.



gentry, too, used their power to eject the small tenant farmers, seize their lands, then "inclose them," as the saying ran, for their own selfish use, and turn the fields into private sheep pastures. So profitable, indeed, was the raising of wool for the Flemish trade that a great fraction of English land was deliberately taken from the plough, and turned back to pasture. "The foot of the sheep has turned the land to gold," ran the saying, but the gold was not for the poor outcast peasantry, who became mere paupers or drifted into the towns.<sup>1</sup>

The financial policy of the Crown in this age added to the general confusion. Several times were the royal debts repudiated. The coinage was so debased as to unsettle all trade and credit. **Commerce and industry became demoralized.** England had long since lost her prestige as a conquering power abroad. There was some private maritime enterprise, but the royal navy seemed very feeble. In religious matters Protestants and Catholics had seemed to vie with one another in making blunders. Not for generations had England been more wretched at home and less respected abroad than in 1558. But a brighter epoch was in store. After the unlucky reigns of Edward VI and Mary came

"The spacious days of great Elizabeth."

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Lollard; Cardinal Wolsey; Anne Boleyn; Thomas Cromwell; Cranmer; Convocation; Act of Supremacy; Sir Thomas More; Pilgrimage of Grace; Act of Attainder; William Tyndale; Book of Common Prayer; Lady Jane Grey; Bishop Gardiner; Latimer; Calais.
2. The character of Henry VIII. Compare with that of Henry VII.
3. Wolsey's foreign policy.

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<sup>1</sup> This unsettling of the peasantry gradually induced great numbers of people to take up industrial and commercial life in the towns. In the end, England was made more of a manufacturing nation by Thomas Cromwell's campaign against the monasteries. London grew with a rapidity which astonished and alarmed contemporaries, although it had only some 160,000 inhabitants in 1590. (The only distinctly larger city in Europe then seems to have been Paris.)



4. How did trouble between Henry and the Papacy arise?
5. Trace the steps in the separation from Rome. Did Henry intend to separate when he began these steps?
6. Were the doctrines of the Church changed by Henry?
7. The causes and results of the dissolution of the monasteries.
8. How far had England changed toward Protestantism at Henry's death?
9. Conditions in England under Edward VI. Who were responsible for them?
10. How did these conditions affect the progress of the Protestant Reformation?
11. Could Mary Tudor have brought England back to the conditions which existed before the separation from Rome?

### EXERCISES

1. Find illustrations of the characteristics of Henry VIII as set forth in section 136.
2. Cardinal Wolsey — his attitude toward reform in the Church.
3. England's foreign policy under Wolsey. "The Field of the Cloth of Gold."
4. How did Henry control Parliament?
5. The "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More.
6. Cromwell was the first great minister in England who was not a churchman. What is the significance of that fact? What led to Cromwell's fall? Compare Cromwell with Wolsey.
7. Economic conditions in England at the end of Henry's reign.
8. Inclosures, and the suppression of the guilds under Edward VI.
9. What was done toward the establishment of Protestantism under Edward VI?
10. Wyatt's Rebellion.
11. The loss of Calais. Why was the loss an important one?
12. Economic conditions under Mary.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 263-76.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 295-96, 330-33. An English history (Ransome, pp. 392-448).



## CHAPTER XXII

### THE AGE OF PHILIP OF SPAIN AND ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND

143. *Philip II of Spain — His power and his character.* In 1556, the great Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, Charles V, abdicated his vast power. His brother Ferdinand succeeded him in the "Empire," but the bulk of his dominions fell to his son, Philip II. Few potentates have inherited wider realms, richer revenues, more dazzling prospects. All Spain was his, with its ample population, its splendidly disciplined infantry, its race of dauntless, warlike nobles, who supplied admirable captains and administrators. He ruled also the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan in Italy, likewise the "Low Countries" (modern Belgium and Holland), with their teeming cities and rich industry. Last, but not least, in America his viceroys held Mexico, Peru, and many another wide province, with the treasures from their numerous mines. Sustained by such an empire, Philip was justified in claiming the leadership among the princes of Europe.

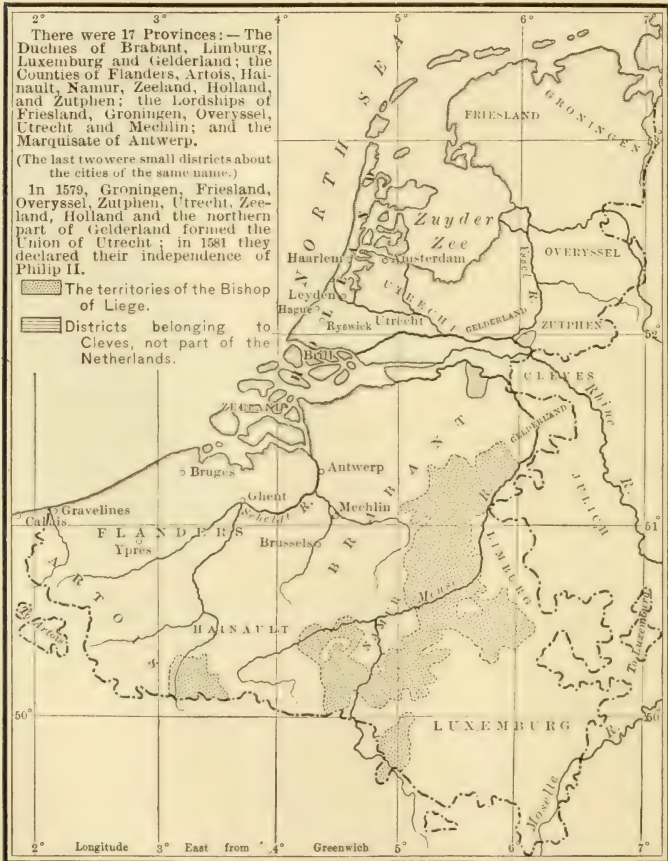


IMPERIAL HERALD, SIX-  
TEENTH CENTURY  
(From a woodcut by Ostendorfer)

The personality of this man makes him one of the most peculiar figures in history. He was slow, cautious, indirect, distrusting bold measures, and timid in sustaining over-energetic generals. Day after day, in his cabinet in the Escorial Palace, near Madrid, he toiled with his secretaries at the spider



net of intrigue and diplomacy that was to enmesh all Christendom. He was **entirely unscrupulous in his methods**. He crushed the last vestiges of local liberty in Spain, where he ruled as an



THE NETHERLANDS AT THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II

absolute despot. He removed prominent opponents by the dagger when he could not send them to the block. He was remorseless in deluging wide countries in blood by war or



massacre. He was ardently devoted to the Catholic faith, and was the sworn foe of Protestantism, yet his triumph would possibly have put the Pope in permanent dependence upon his officious and formidable "son," the King of Spain.<sup>1</sup> Privately he seems to have been a kind husband, and an affectionate father to his daughters. His personal followers regarded him as a kind of saint, yet there is little doubt that the success of his tortuous projects would have spelled tyranny and ruin for Catholic no less than for Protestant Europe. These projects, however, failed. Their failure was due largely to three remarkable persons — Elizabeth of England, William the Silent, and Henry of Navarre.

**144. *How Elizabeth began her reign.*** In 1558, **Elizabeth**, daughter of Henry VIII and the ill-starred Anne Boleyn, was proclaimed Queen of England upon the death of her half-sister Mary. She was twenty-five years old. From her father she had inherited the Tudor characteristics — marked physical strength, energy, courage, hauteur, decided coarseness, and a considerable inclination for ostentatious display. From her mother she took no little personal charm and a certain insincerity and love of artifice that made her at times as indirect and sinuous in policy as her great opponent Philip. But above all else, Elizabeth had a keen judgment as to men and measures, a real desire for the good of her people, and a ready common sense, which, blended with her womanly intuition, carried her through many crises. She had the good fortune to secure, in **Sir William Cecil** (who later became Lord Burghley) and in **Sir Francis Walsingham**, two ministers of remarkable energy and ability. To them must be attributed a large part of the success of Elizabeth's reign; yet they never overshadowed their mistress. Elizabeth always asserted her own will, and directed

<sup>1</sup> At one time (1556-59) Philip was actually at war with the Pope, over matters of temporal interest, and his attitude toward the Vatican was frequently bullying and dictatorial.



the affairs of state, while often her wisdom surpassed that of her ministers.

At the moment of her accession the situation for England was dark. Mary's domestic policy had been a failure, marked as it was by religious persecution and economic decline. Commerce and industry were stagnant. Her foreign policy, controlled by Philip, had cost England Calais, and, what was



QUEEN ELIZABETH CARRIED IN STATE

more valuable, English prestige and self-respect. Could Elizabeth bring back peace, prosperity, and national honor? The problem was a highly difficult one.

**The accession of Elizabeth implied a return of England to Protestantism.** The persecution by Mary had disgusted great numbers of Englishmen with the old Church; and Elizabeth (if she was to reign as queen) could not be a Catholic; for as a Catholic she would have to admit that according to the canon law of the Church her father's marriage to Anne Boleyn was unlawful, and that she herself was illegitimate; — the crown thus passing to Mary, Queen of Scots. Elizabeth certainly



had no great leaning toward the more advanced type of Protestantism, but with her accession the persecution ceased, and soon afterwards the English Prayer-Book was reëstablished by act of Parliament, together with a studiously moderate form of Protestantism in the English Church. The more zealous Catholics naturally were disaffected, as were the extreme Protestants, but by the majority of the nation — not theologically inclined — the “Elizabethan Settlement”<sup>1</sup> of the Church was received without much grumbling. Very harsh laws were enacted against the “Popish recusants,” but for long the queen carefully refrained from putting them in force. She always claimed that she never persecuted her enemies for their religion. When they began (after she had reigned for some time) to form plots against her Government and life, she punished them for “treason,” and tried to make their suppression merely a secular matter.

Philip, as the Catholic champion, was naturally disturbed at this religious policy of “his sister of England.” He offered to marry her himself — the ceremony to be followed, of course, by the reintroduction of Catholicism. She graciously declined, and he feared at first to coerce her lest he drive England into the arms of his great rival, France.<sup>2</sup> So for the first ten years of her reign she was able to keep the peace and to promote the unity and prosperity of her people; while she and all Europe

<sup>1</sup> Virtually the “Episcopalian” system as it is understood in England to-day.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth never married. She thoroughly realized the advantage given her, in diplomatic dealings, by threatening at frequent intervals to marry a French prince, an act so unfortunate for Spain that Philip dared not drive her to extremities lest she carry out her purpose. Probably she was at one time really attached to the showy Earl of Leicester (her “sweet Robin”), but the diplomatic situation was never so clear that she dared to marry a mere subject. As a “virgin queen,” appealing artfully to the privileges of unprotected womanhood, Elizabeth was able to secure the chivalrous devotion of many distinguished Englishmen — e.g., the famous voyager Sir Walter Raleigh — and to secure a passionate loyalty such as has been gained by few monarchs. — In her last speech (1601) to Parliament she made the boast, “I do call God to witness that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people’s good”: and to her loyal subjects these proud words rang true.



watched events in Scotland, where Mary Stuart, the woman with possibly better legal claims to the English crown than Elizabeth, played her game of intrigue for high stakes — and lost.

**145. *Mary Stuart blunders in Scotland.*** Mary Stuart was in her own right the queen of the relatively poor and barren country of Scotland. If, however, Elizabeth was illegitimate, as most Catholics held, Mary was **the lawful Queen of England**. She had been married to King Francis II of France, but in 1560, her husband died, and the distracted condition of her native kingdom called her homeward. Protestantism of the stern Calvinistic type had been accepted already by the Scots after sundry partisan struggles. Mary was an earnest Catholic, but returned under pledge to respect the religion of her subjects. But the Scottish lords were a turbulent, ill-united lot, and many were quite willing to return to the old faith if they could obtain personal advantages thereby. Mary was beautiful and charming. She was almost as able as Elizabeth; she had the support of the great influence of the Catholic Church and the favor also of France, but she did not have Elizabeth's sanity and poise in great crises. It seemed, however, not very difficult to win back the Scottish lords, then to stir up Catholic disaffection in England, and drive Anne Boleyn's daughter from the throne.

Yet Mary failed absolutely, partly because her intrigues were thwarted by "**dour John Knox**," the famous Scottish Calvinist preacher, who warned his countrymen against her undertakings; partly through **her most unfortunate marriage and its results**. In 1565, she had married her cousin, a Lord Darnley, and by him had a son (the future James I of England), but by 1567, the queen and her weak and debauched husband were hopelessly estranged. Darnley perished in a gunpowder explosion undoubtedly planned by Mary's lover, the infamous Earl of Bothwell, probably with the guilty knowledge of Mary,





## ELIZABETH

Queen of England (1558–1603). In the superb dress in which she went to St. Paul's

Born 1533

Died 1603







whom he soon married.<sup>1</sup> The outraged Scots flew to arms and overpowered their queen. Mary was imprisoned; then escaped and gathered an army. At Langside, in 1568, her troops were routed, and a regency ruled in Scotland in the name of her infant son. **Mary was driven to seek refuge in England**, where Elizabeth received her with cold courtesy, but **held her a state prisoner, as it proved, for life.**

**146. William the Silent and the revolt of the Netherlands.** And now came on the scene the second great enemy of Philip — **William, Prince of Orange**, called, for his wise habit of reticence on proper occasions, “William the Silent.”<sup>2</sup> Just when the failure of Mary released Philip largely from the fear of a French domination in England, and left him free to attack Elizabeth himself, the richest portion of his empire, under William’s leadership, rose in revolt against him.

The “**Low Countries**,” or **Netherlands**, at the mouth of the Rhine, were distinguished for their wealth, culture, and industry. Antwerp, their commercial capital, was the greatest mart in the world, next to Venice; the fishing-boats of the Hollanders covered the North Sea; the looms of Flanders supplied a great part of the globe with woollens. The cities and provinces, however, were proud of their local rights and privileges, won often by bitter struggles. In many districts Protestantism had made marked progress, despite a drastic persecution under Charles V. Philip II, about 1560, undertook a tyrannous policy of curbing the Netherlands’ liberties, of subjecting them to a grinding taxation, of introducing the hated “*Spanish Inquisition*”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question of Mary’s guilt rests on the famous “Casket Letters.” If they were genuine, she was a murderess; but their authenticity can never be settled.

<sup>2</sup> See Harrison’s *William the Silent*, pp. 22–23, for the origin of this famous nickname. William was really genial and loquacious in proper society.

<sup>3</sup> The Spanish Inquisition, a revival of the old mediæval Inquisition, was set up (1483) by Ferdinand and Isabella as a means of reclaiming the Christianized Jews and Moors of their dominions, who had lapsed into their old religion. Its cruel methods — arrest on mere suspicion, torture, refusal to confront the accused with evidence, etc. — are undoubted facts; but historians are divided as to how



as a means of sharpening the already severe anti-heresy laws.<sup>1</sup>

A proud and freedom-loving people were not slow in showing marked signs of rebellion. In 1567, **Philip sent his favorite general, the Duke of Alva, to the Netherlands**, with orders to reduce them to complete subjection and to extinguish heresy. Alva was backed by a force of Spanish veterans, and understood no methods of persuasion but those of blood. A wholesale proscription of every soul concerned in the various recent demonstrations against the king's oppressive measures afflicted the Catholics almost as much as the Protestants. The Count of Egmont, one of the first noblemen of the country, and an ardent supporter of the old Church, perished on the scaffold (1568), and Alva's infamous "**Blood Council**" dispatched to like fate thousands of others. The spirit of this tribunal is well illustrated by the tale that one of the judges was accustomed to doze during the deliberations, and only wake enough to murmur "Hang him!" when the farce of a trial was over. For a moment the country seemed cowed, but mere despair raised a new revolt and a mighty champion.

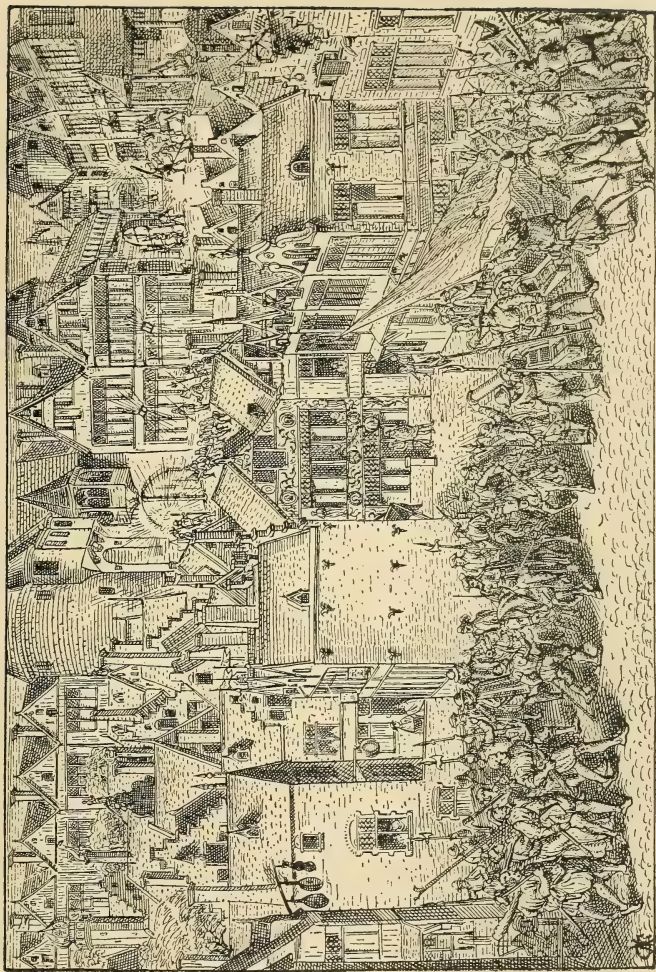
William, Prince of Orange,<sup>2</sup> had been one of Philip's chief lieutenants in the rule of the Netherlands, but he had wearied of the Spaniard's tyrannous methods, and was sympathetic with Protestantism. When Alva entered the country, he wisely withdrew to Germany, then declared himself a Protestant and

far the Catholic Church, and how far simply the Spanish Government, was responsible for its excesses. It naturally became a tremendous weapon against the Protestants. Even the Netherland Catholics resisted its coming on account of its misuse for political ends.

<sup>1</sup> Philip's great blunder was that — a Spaniard himself — he believed his free Northern subjects would submit readily to a despotism to which Spain was accustomed.

<sup>2</sup> The principality of Orange, which gave William this title, lay in south-eastern France, but he also was of the German House of Nassau, and had considerable estates in Holland. He had practically the rank of a petty sovereign.





A CITY OF THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A riot is going on in the streets. (After an engraving by Hogenberg)



bided his time. Other leaders of the age were far more brilliant for the hour than he, but none so tenacious, skillful in dealing with men, or more gifted with a noble courage which did not shrink when every hope seemed quenched. He fought Philip in his games of intrigue and diplomacy, and checkmated him; he had a marvelous gift of keeping the loving loyalty of his followers; he likewise maintained himself confident and serene amid every danger. The modern Dutch are justified in claiming their "Father William" as one of the heroes of the ages.

After several unsuccessful attempts at revolt, in **1572, a band of sailors, William's privateersmen, seized Brill**, a small seaport town in Holland, and defied every effort of the Spaniards to oust them. The blaze of rebellion spread; speedily William found himself at the head of the two small provinces of Zeeland and Holland, and with these preparing to brave the united efforts of Alva and Philip to reconquer them. Holding this mere corner of the land, between the remaining Spanish possessions and the German Ocean, here for some years William and his Hollanders stood at bay against the whole power of Philip. For a long time only a few subsidies, warily afforded by Elizabeth, came to aid them. It seemed the contest of a dwarf and a giant, but the dwarf was not conquered. Behind their walls the Dutch cities made a heroic defense. **Haarlem** only succumbed to starvation after a siege which cost Alva very dear. He found the situation beyond his grasp, and in 1573 retired to give place to less brutish though not really more merciful commanders. His successors did not prosper better. In 1574, they staked everything on a **siege of the important city of Leyden**. Provisions were at an end; cats and rats had all been eaten, but the defense went on; the heroic burgomaster telling his starving folk that they might devour his body, but he would not surrender to the Spanish butchers. Then at the last moment came a dramatic deliverance. The



Prince of Orange had cut the dikes holding back the sea.<sup>1</sup> A strong wind swept the waters over the Spanish camp. The besiegers fled for their lives. The Dutch ships sailed with men and provisions through the very gates of the despairing city.

**This was really the turning-point of the war.** Through it all William never lost his calm trust in his cause and in Heaven. An anxious deputation once came to him asking him to make some powerful alliances against the overwhelming power of Spain. "Know you," he answered, "that in this enterprise I have made a most powerful alliance — it is with the King of kings."

Soon after the relief of Leyden, the mutinous Spanish army, having been left unpaid by Philip, began to plunder the "loyal" southern provinces, and finally sacked the great city of Antwerp (the "Spanish Fury"). This was enough to drive these provinces also temporarily into revolt against Spain; but in the south, where the number of Protestants was small, and the sense of disaffection least, a shrewd general now sent out by Philip — Alexander of Parma — presently recovered his master's authority. In the northern half of the country, however, William more than held his own. In 1581, this section of the Netherlands formally declared its independence of Philip. **"The Dutch Republic" was born,** — "Republic" in name, although with a strong aristocratic element in the Government; and in William as "Stadtholder" (a kind of president) it possessed an uncrowned king. His work was really accomplished, although the war was very far from ended. Philip at last did away with this mortal enemy by the assassin's pistol. **In 1584, William was murdered** by a fanatic, Gérard, who had been offered a great reward by Philip for his bloody deed. William perished, but Gérard was captured and died by tortures, never gaining the promised pelf from Philip. The

<sup>1</sup> As is perhaps well known, a large part of the Netherlands is below sea-level, and protected only by a vast system of dikes and embankments.



king was thus rid of one great adversary, but he still had to reckon with Elizabeth.

**147. *The execution of Mary Stuart.*** To Elizabeth the revolt of the Netherlands had been a blessed reprieve from Spanish pressure. Philip was too busy with his revolted subjects to devote all his power to crushing the heretic queen; but from 1568 to 1587, Mary of Scotland was still alive and a source of vast trouble to Elizabeth, although confined in one or another of the English castles. She was no submissive captive. Around her centered countless intrigues usually promoted by the Catholic party in England, always with the end that Elizabeth was to be flung from the throne and replaced by Mary. But year after year the English nation had become more contented under Elizabeth's firm, peaceful, just, and economical rule; and a new generation was rising, born and bred to Protestantism. As a result the plots of the malcontents became more desperate and more open. In 1586, Mary was accused of being privy to what was known as "Babington's Conspiracy" for the murder of Elizabeth. It is probable that she was guilty. As an "outraged captive" she was possibly justified in using any possible means to secure her liberty and rights, but the real question was whether this "daughter of discord" was to continue to be the center of conspiracies against the whole peace of England. Elizabeth hesitated long in ordering the shedding of royal blood, but at last her ministers induced her to sign the warrant; then they had it executed without her knowledge. **Mary was beheaded in 1587.**

**148. *The Spanish Armada.*** The death of Mary, however, seemed to simplify the task of Philip. Hitherto, if he had crushed Elizabeth, he would only have won a throne for Mary. Now, however, there were some distant claims upon the English crown which he could revive for his own family, and might would make them right. Besides, Elizabeth of late had been sending decidedly active succor to his Netherland rebels.





WILLIAM THE SILENT

Founder of the Dutch Republic

Born 1533

Died 1584







Conquering England would be the first step to regaining the Low Countries. By 1588, — after many delays, — a huge armament was ready in the ports of Spain for the reducing of England. If it had been a matter of land fighting, Philip might well have expected triumph. His soldiers and generals were undoubtedly the best in the world; but the Spaniards had never taken very eagerly to the sea. Their ships were unwieldy, slow, and built for boarding warfare rather than cannonading; their crews intended for land service quite as much as for purely naval warfare. On the other hand, under Elizabeth had developed the true English sea-power; a small but efficient navy of swift, handy, and heavily armed ships, and, better still, a race of hardy “ sea-dogs,” — captains and men, — who like **Sir Francis Drake** had raided the Spanish West Indies, and sailed around the globe, after buccaneering exploits which make history sound like romance.

Philip’s “ **Invincible** ” **Armada**, according to most accounts, one hundred and thirty-two ponderous ships,<sup>1</sup> appeared in the Channel in July, 1588, headed for the Low Countries, thence to convoy over Alexander of Parma with a huge army for the conquest of England.<sup>2</sup> Not since Greek and Persian fought at Salamis had there been as momentous a sea-fight. For a week the lighter English squadrons pelted and chased the Armada as it fought its way along the French coast to Calais; there by night they threw the Spaniards into sore confusion by a successful attack with fire-ships. The next day, **in a desperate running battle, the English won a complete victory.** The panic-stricken Spaniards abandoned all hopes of convoying Parma

<sup>1</sup> Not more than fifty of these were battleships; the rest were really transports. The whole Spanish campaign was built on the idea of throwing a land army into England — not of simply beating the English fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Philip had counted on the support of the Catholic nobles of England. He was entirely deceived. They remembered only that they were Englishmen rallying around their queen. Lord Howard, Elizabeth’s high admiral in 1588, was a Catholic.



and fled to the north, seeking to return home by rounding Scotland. Then the ocean gales completed the work begun by Elizabeth's cannon-balls. Many ships foundered, or were cast ashore on Norway, Scotland, or Ireland. Only fifty-three wrecks limped back to Spain. Philip had hazarded half his power on one throw of the dice, and now was hopelessly crippled. The defeat of the Spanish Armada was more than a great naval battle. It implied the downfall of Spain as a world-power and the establishment of the naval supremacy of England, and made possible the English colonization of America.

149. *The Huguenots in France and Henry of Navarre.* The third champion with whom Philip became involved to his cost



A FRENCH PROTESTANT MUSKETEER

Time of Henry IV.  
(From a restoration in the Musée d'Artillerie)

was **Henry of Navarre, destined to become Henry IV of France (1589-1610).** The story of France in the sixteenth century is the story of inefficient kings, first dragging her into unsuccessful campaigns against Spain for the possession of Italy, next allowing their turbulent nobles to get out of hand and involve the country in a series of desolating, fratricidal civil wars. This interval gave Philip his great opportunity. The last three kings of the old Valois dynasty (Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III) were little better than vicious nonentities. Far more important as a ruler was their mother, Catherine de Medici (d. 1589); but her power was almost overshadowed at times by the mighty **Dukes of Guise**, who, under the color of leading the attack on Protestantism, threatened to be-

come more powerful than the Crown itself.

Protestantism never gained a firm hold upon the common folk of France, although a large fraction of the nobility turned Calvinist. Moreover, although the French Protestants



("Huguenots")<sup>1</sup> produced many men of noble virtue and lofty aims, the whole movement took too much the character of an attack on the royal authority, and a fresh assertion by the nobles of their jealousy of the Crown. For this cause the old Church was destined to an ultimate triumph. The story of the "Wars of Religion" in France forms a dreary chapter of blood and mutual intolerance. These contests began in 1560, and continued, interrupted by deceitful truces, until 1598. They reduced France to extreme misery, and completely prevented her for a while from checking her great rival of Spain. In 1572 came the infamous "**Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day**," when, during a time of seemingly secure peace, over one thousand Protestants, including their leader, Coligny, were massacred in cold blood at Paris, and ten thousand more in the provinces. Catherine appears to have been the prime power in the outrage, and her motive was rather political jealousy of the Huguenot chieftain, Coligny, than mere religious fanaticism. The massacre did not ruin the Protestants. They flew to arms once more, and especially held their own in the south of France, where lay their main numbers. Their new leader was Henry, sovereign of the petty kingdom of Navarre, but also next in succession to the crown of France when the weakling sons of Catherine should perish.

Henry was an ideal leader for a desperate cause. He lacked refinement and had many private vices, but he was a dashing cavalry officer, genial and dauntless, who kept the loyalty of his iron-handed, psalm-singing Huguenot troopers when the odds seemed sorely against him. In 1589, the last Valois king died, and Henry — as head of the Bourbon side-line — was recognized as Henry IV, sovereign of France, by all the Protestants and by the more moderate Catholics.

An extreme clerical faction (the "League"), however, held

<sup>1</sup> The name is usually explained as a corruption of the German word "Eidgenossen" — "Confederates."



out against him, and put up a pretender, and supporting this pretender were Spanish gold-pieces and Spanish pikemen; for Philip, having failed to subdue the Netherlands, and having failed against England, now attempted one last great stroke, — to thrust a puppet on the throne of France, — and through him to win a realm greater than England or the Low Countries.

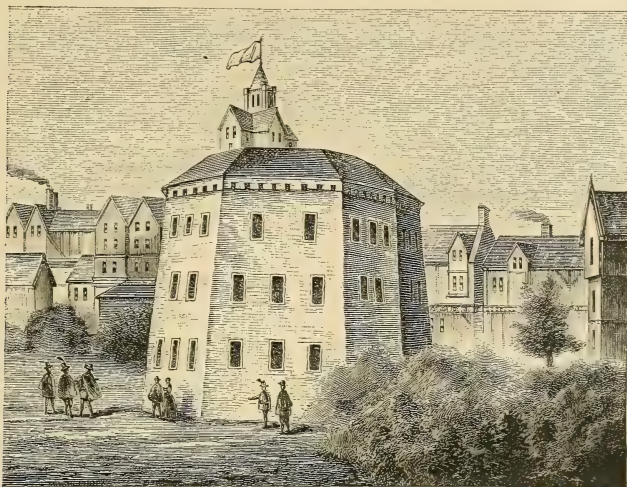
Paris was secured by Henry's enemies. A Spanish army was dispatched against him, but at **Ivry**<sup>1</sup> (1590) his gallantly commanded cavalry rode over the host of invaders and French rebels and won a brilliant victory. Paris, nevertheless, for some years defied all his efforts to take her; and it was evident that France as a nation would never accept a Protestant king. Henry IV was no man, however, to be troubled by theological scruples. "**Paris is well worth a mass,**" he cynically remarked; and allowed himself to be "instructed" in Catholicism, and **returned to the old Church**. Resistance to him now crumbled rapidly. Paris capitulated. Philip continued the war for some years, but Henry IV was now the undoubted lord of his ancestral dominions. In 1598, he made peace with Philip, who recognized him as lawful King of France. Henry secured ample toleration to the Protestants by his famous "Edict of Nantes" (1598), and the last twelve years of his reign were wisely devoted to advancing the internal peace and prosperity of France.

**150. Conclusion of the Epoch.** In September, 1598, Philip II died at the Escorial. All his vast projects had come to nothing. Half of the Low Countries were in successful revolt and were formed into the "Dutch Republic." They were soon destined to develop industries and a maritime commerce which made them almost the richest nation of the world. **England, guided by Elizabeth, was in the full noon of remarkable prosperity.** A wonderful spirit of enterprise of every kind prevailed. Abroad, English seamen were carrying their flag to the remot-

<sup>1</sup> This place is some fifty miles west of Paris.



est lands: at home Shakespeare was composing his plays, and Spenser his immortal poem the "Faërie Queen." In France, the firm, wise government of Henry IV was preparing that great nation to overshadow the destinies of Europe for the next



THE GLOBE — SHAKESPEARE'S THEATER

two centuries. Only **Spain was ruined**. The Inquisition had destroyed her freedom of thought. The despotic taxation of Philip had ruined her industries and commerce. Her best blood had been wasted in disastrous wars on a hundred battle-fields.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Charles V; Elizabethan Settlement; John Knox; Lord Darnley; William the Silent; the Spanish Inquisition; Duke of Alva; Egmont; Blood Council; Leyden; the Spanish Fury; Alexander of Parma; Stadtholder; Babington's Conspiracy; the "Invincible Armada"; Sir Francis Drake; Henry of Navarre; Catherine de Medici; Huguenots; St. Bartholomew's Day; the League; Edict of Nantes.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Holland; Flanders; Orange; Brill; Zeeland; Haarlem; Leyden; Calais; Ivry.



(b) Mark the territories belonging to Philip II at his accession.

(c) Mark the territories of the Dutch Republic.

3. How did Philip compare in power with other rulers of his time? Was the fact that his lands were scattered an advantage or not?
4. The character of Philip II.
5. The character of Elizabeth Tudor. Compare with that of Mary Tudor.
6. What were the conditions in England at the accession of Elizabeth? Compare with the conditions which faced Henry II and Henry VII at their accession.
7. How did Elizabeth settle the religious question?
8. What were the reasons for the revolt of the Netherlands?
9. The character and work of William of Orange.
10. Was the execution of Mary Stuart justifiable?
11. Why did Elizabeth send help to the Dutch after William's death?
12. The Armada: make a summary showing the reasons why Philip sent it; its object; the reasons for its failure.
13. The conditions in France under the last Valois kings.
14. Compare, in their effects upon the countries, the Wars of Religion in France and the Wars of the Roses in England.
15. Compare the conditions in England, France, and Spain at the end of the sixteenth century.

### EXERCISES

1. Compare industrial conditions in Spain and in the Low Countries.
2. The work of Cecil and Walsingham.
3. The marriage negotiations of Elizabeth.
4. The Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity, 1559.
5. Mary Stuart in Scotland, to 1568.
6. Why did Elizabeth keep Mary a prisoner in England, instead of releasing her, or returning her to Scotland?
7. The "Beggars."
8. The siege of Leyden.
9. What later events made it possible for the Dutch to maintain their independence?
10. The conspiracies against Elizabeth.
11. Sir Francis Drake and the English seamen.
12. The growth of English commerce under Elizabeth.
13. Catherine de Medici and the Wars of Religion in France.
14. Admiral Coligny.
15. The Dukes of Guise.
16. The Treaty of Vervins. Compare with the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis.
17. Henry IV and Sully — their internal reforms.



## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 280-91.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 266-67, 298-99, 314-30, 333-44, 406-10.

Gibbins: pp. 121-26, 128-30, 134-38. Pattison: pp. 245-73. Duruy: pp. 332-84. Lodge: chapters VIII, IX. An English history (Ransome, pp. 448-85).



## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE EARLY STUARTS IN ENGLAND

#### 151. *James I (1603-25) — the “ wise fool ” of England.*

In 1603, James I<sup>1</sup> succeeded Elizabeth, the mighty Queen of England. The new sovereign was the son of the ill-starred Mary, Queen of Scots, and the equally ill-starred Lord Darnley. Bred among the stern Scotch Presbyterians, he had conceived little love for their semi-democratic habits, and their custom of giving their king broad and unwelcome advice. His own views of the powers of royalty were decisive. In his own eyes he was an absolute and irresponsible monarch. “ As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do,” he once asserted, “ so it is presumption and high treason for a subject to dispute what a king can do.” He was a pedantic, undignified man, very convinced of his own importance, learning, and infallibility. “ **The wisest fool in Christendom,**” so the witty Henry IV of France remarked of him. A little saving sense of humor, a certain amount of good nature, and occasional flashes of real insight saved him from crowning disasters; but he had many passages at arms with his high-spirited people, and left a heritage of discord to his unlucky son.

152. *The Gunpowder Plot (1605).* Two classes of Englishmen whom Elizabeth had oppressed, at first welcomed James's accession: — the **Puritans**, i.e., those advanced Protestants who found the type of Protestantism established by the queen “ still savoring of Rome ”; and the Catholics, who believed the son of Mary Stuart would relax the laws aimed against the religion of his mother. Both were disappointed. James had gained no liking in Scotland for the “ Presbyterianism ” (the

<sup>1</sup> Reckoned as a King of Scotland, he stands as James VI.



Scotch type of Calvinism) which most of the Puritans favored; and listened with eager ear to the obsequious Church of England prelates who asserted that "His Majesty spoke with the spirit of God." When the Puritan ministers presented a great petition asking for certain ecclesiastical alterations, the king cried in wrath, "I'll make them conform, or I'll harry them out of the land."<sup>1</sup>

The Puritans were driven into sullen disaffection, but their Catholic rivals were not more fortunate. James was delighted with the English Church, whereof he seemed to be the head, alike free from Pope or Presbytery. The anti-Catholic laws for the imprisonment of priests, the suppression of masses, etc., were enforced with rigor. In their desperation certain Catholics resolved that all means were permissible against a tyrant. A certain **Guy Fawkes**, in combination with Catesby and other conspirators, formed the astounding project of hiring a house next to that wherein Parliament met, of introducing a quantity of gunpowder, and when King, Lords, and Commons were met together, of destroying James and all his Government at one great clap. In the confusion following the explosion, these Catholics hoped to be able to seize the Government; but at the last moment the plot slipped out (November 5, 1605). Fawkes was arrested at the powder barrels. The other conspirators were seized, and many were cruelly tortured ere being executed. The whole incident naturally increased James's distrust of the Catholics, and made the average English Protestants more confirmed in their faith than ever. The "**Gunpowder Plot**" and the "Fifth of November" were to be the excuses for a shameful amount of persecution of harmless Catholics during the next two centuries in England.

<sup>1</sup> "A Presbytery agreed with monarchy as well as God with the Devil," James asserted to the petitioners. Only one real wish did the Puritans gain: James caused to be made the famous "Authorized Translation" ("King James Version") of the Bible, which proved one of the most important landmarks in English literature, as well as in religion.



**153. *The Spanish marriage.*** James's reign was decidedly inglorious. In 1604, against the nation's wishes he had made peace with Spain. The great spirit of maritime adventure which was so fostered by Elizabeth in her wars was allowed to wane, although a beginning was made in the colonizing of America in Virginia and (with little enough help from the King!) at Plymouth. James had an exaggerated idea of the wealth and power of Spain; little realizing that, with the col-



AN ENGLISH NOBLEMAN AND HIS WIFE,  
IN THE TIME OF JAMES I

*From a contemporary print in the British Museum*

lapse of the great program of Philip II, the strength of Spain was nearly exhausted. James was exceedingly anxious to win a Spanish princess as bride for his son Prince Charles. To satisfy Spain he executed, for alleged high treason, **Sir Walter Raleigh** (1618), one of Elizabeth's great statesmen and admirals, whose real offense was in being the head of the anti-Spanish party in England. In 1623, Prince Charles actually made a journey to

Madrid to win the hand of a Spanish infanta; but the Spaniards made it an absolute condition of the match that toleration should be given to the English Catholics, and that this should be confirmed by Parliament. The "wise fool" was wise enough to realize that he was having sufficient difficulties with his Commons already without asking favors for the hated "Papists." To the great joy of most Englishmen, the Spanish match was broken off. Prince Charles arranged to marry a



princess from France, where less disputatious conditions were demanded.

**154. *James and his Parliaments.*** James had thus alienated the Puritans and the Catholics, and had put himself on cold terms with Spain. He also offended the great bulk of his Church of England subjects by his financial policy. **He was a bad financial manager**, and the taxes which had sufficed for Elizabeth did not satisfy his extravagant court. Four times he convened Parliament, and each time there was bitter complaint at this high-handed policy in taxing every available object of revenue with

only a very warped legal authority for so doing. The "absolute king" stormed at the niggardly money grants voted by the Commons: the Commons retaliated by denouncing the sales of "monopolies" in trade and manufacture, whereby the king had eked out his insufficient revenues, and attacked the misdeeds of the royal ministers and fa-



BELLMAN OF LONDON, 1616, MAKING HIS NIGHTLY ROUND

*From a title-page in the Bagford Collection, British Museum*

vorites. In 1621, they actually impeached Lord Bacon, the Royal Chancellor,<sup>1</sup> for malfeasance as a judge, and drove him, a ruined man, from office. No great disasters occurred, but the reign went out amid petty bickerings and widespread ill feeling. In March, 1625, James I died. His reign, in the sense of immediate happenings, had been unimportant. He had possessed

<sup>1</sup> A most distinguished philosopher, but a man whose practice and theory hardly corresponded.



sufficient wisdom to keep from acts which would drive his subjects to rebellion; but in his absolutist theories and in his frequent defiance of what were cherished as "the liberties of England,"<sup>1</sup> he had set an evil example to his successor. In 1603, England had been profoundly loyal to the monarchy of Elizabeth. By 1625, that loyalty had very largely evaporated. In the ensuing reign an unwise king and an exasperated people were to drift into armed hostility.

**155. Charles I (1625-49) and the Duke of Buckingham.** The new king was personally a better man than his father. He was handsome, athletic, dignified, a kind father, and an amiable friend; but **he was hopelessly obsessed with his father's notions of the "divine right of kings"**; he was so devoted a son of the Church of England that he was unable to have the least sympathy with his people when they preferred another confession. To him Parliaments and laws protecting the subject were at best necessary evils, to be avoided and dispensed with by every means short of military tyranny.

At Charles's elbow for the first three years of his reign was George Villiers, **Duke of Buckingham**, a clever, supple, unscrupulous nobleman, who from practical insignificance had risen to be the indispensable favorite and chief minister of James. He retained his influence over Charles. Widely as Buckingham was hated, both as the agent of arbitrary power and for his own arrogance and self-seeking, Charles kept implicit confidence in him down to 1628, when he was assassinated by a discontented subaltern officer. It was a good riddance for Charles and for England; but the young king was too firmly rooted in his absolutist notions to seek more liberal ministers. Charles drifted from blunder to blunder, until the residuum of good will of the English people toward their monarchy was entirely exhausted.

<sup>1</sup> "The liberties of England" were, of course, vague matters, but to most laymen they probably meant frequent Parliaments, the absence of arbitrary arrests and punishments, no taxation without parliamentary authorization, etc.



**156. Charles's quarrels with his Parliaments.** To understand the position of the opponents of Charles, it should be realized that his critics in Parliament did not concede that they were asserting any new liberties for the people: their declaration always was that they were simply vindicating the old customs and liberties of England, against the growing tyranny of the Crown. They still professed great respect for the person of the monarch: it was simply "his evil ministers and advisers" who fell under their displeasure. On the other hand, Charles could probably claim that he was not exercising greater authority than had been exercised by Elizabeth. This was true, but Elizabeth had been wise enough to keep to the *letter* of the law even in acts of sheer absolutism: besides, Elizabeth had the love and confidence of her people, — the best possible bulwark for a sovereign. Charles had not that love and confidence, and **he blunderingly violated the old laws at every turn.** It is not, then, surprising that one contention followed another.

Charles convened Parliament thrice in the earlier years of his reign, and each assembly ended with an increased amount of ill-feeling. There were complaints by the Crown that the Commons was hampering the Government in its foreign policy by its niggardly votes of taxes:<sup>1</sup> there were louder complaints by the Commons that the Crown was indulging in arbitrary imprisonment of inimical persons, in unauthorized taxation, in forced loans, and in quartering soldiers on private persons to make them comply with its wishes; and also that the king was surrounded with rascally favorites. In 1628, matters culminated in the "**Petition of Right**" presented by Parliament, a great constitutional document summarizing these grievances and demanding reform. Charles affected to give

<sup>1</sup> Charles drifted into wars with Spain and France. These contests were conducted without ability or energy, and while they led to no terrible disaster, they brought no glory. The nation was disgusted at the feeble conduct of Charles's Government as contrasted with the brilliant exploits of the admirals of Elizabeth.



a halting consent to the petition, but soon found means to evade it. In 1629, both parties were almost at swords' points. Charles dissolved his third Parliament in great fury. He flung **Sir John Eliot**, leader of the malcontents, a man of high ability and noble character, into the Tower of London and kept him in close durance till his death (1632). For eleven years Charles ruled without a Parliament and almost as an absolute monarch.

**157. The arbitrary rule of Charles (1629-39).** "Be a king," Charles's French-born queen enjoined upon him. "Be like the King of France." Her

husband made the attempt in direful earnest. He was able to strain the laws, to dispense with assembling Parliament, to harry the Puritans, as long as he had sufficient revenues to maintain his Government.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately for his subjects' sakes, he was without a real standing army,<sup>2</sup> and this kept him from



SOLDIERS OF THE TIME OF CHARLES I  
Musketeer and pikeman

going to extremes. But by enlarging to the uttermost every old claim of the Crown to revenue, and by the aid of servile judges, who always interpreted the law in the king's favor, Charles kept up his income without parliamentary grant.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> It was during this epoch that the Puritans migrated in thousands to Massachusetts, despairing of civil and religious liberty at home.

<sup>2</sup> The only armed force at the king's disposal in peace times was a small guard of yeomen. For larger levies he had to look to the militia raised in the counties.

<sup>3</sup> As it was, he was only able to go without Parliament by making peace with France and Spain, somewhat ignominiously: not a self-respecting action for an English king.



most famous straining of the law was the case of the **ship-money**, a war-tax hitherto levied only on the sea-board towns, but now imposed on the entire kingdom. Despite bitter protests, the "Court of Exchequer" (filled with judges after the king's own heart) decided that the new tax was legal.<sup>1</sup>

This attack by the king upon the pockets of his subjects alienated a vast multitude of merchants and country squires who took little interest in theoretical political rights or in religious difficulties. But Charles was already at bitter feud with the **Puritans**. A large fraction of the most intelligent and pious-minded men of the kingdom belonged to this party. Life was for them a serious reality to be lived in strict accord with the precepts of the Scriptures. The English Church still retained too many of the "corruptions of Rome" for their liking: they demanded a marked simplifying of the Church service, and likewise a corresponding severity in private life. The theaters<sup>2</sup> and the indecorous revels which were favored at the king's gay court shocked them unspeakably. In London and other cities, especially, the powerful mercantile class — the very people offended by the taxation — favored Puritanism. Charles thus had to confront enemies having **both a financial and a religious grievance**, — a most dangerous combination.

In 1633, Charles made **William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury**. Laud was a man of piety, purity, and zeal, but he was an uncompromising champion of the Church of England system, and a foe of the Puritans. Ministers who failed to conform to his advanced ideas for the enrichment of the Church service — "reaction toward Rome," cried his opponents — were ruthlessly thrust from their positions. The press was kept

<sup>1</sup> The right of the king was contested in a famous lawsuit brought by John Hampden, a distinguished Commoner. He lost the case, but the notoriety given to the royal policy was a heavy blow to the king's Government.

<sup>2</sup> The theaters of Charles I's time, sadly degenerated from the days of Shakespeare, were so frivolous and licentious as to deserve most of the anathemas the Puritans cast upon them.



under strict censorship, and woe to the author and printer who issued an unlicensed volume. In 1633, William Prynne ventured to publish a volume assailing the morals of the theater.<sup>1</sup> It was distorted into an attack upon the character of the queen. The unfortunate writer was sentenced to have his book burned by the public hangman, to pay a fine of £5000,<sup>2</sup> and to have both ears cropped off in the pillory. Others, less conspicuous, suffered proportionately as much as he. Charles supported Laud in his anti-Puritan policy: Laud in turn was able to give the benison of religion upon all the king's political aggressions. As Charles's chief secular minister there came to the front Thomas Wentworth (after 1639 **Lord Strafford**), a statesman of remarkable ability, who honestly believed that he was serving England best by putting her completely under the royal dominion. By means of their summary courts, the **Star Chamber** (to deal with secular offenses) and the **High Commission** (for Church cases), — tribunals which acted without a jury, and in a wholly arbitrary and semi-secret manner, — the king and his ministers were able to silence practically all the muttered opposition in England. A very large part of the population was disaffected, but without a Parliament in session the voice of the English people was dumb — then Scotland furnished a means of expression.

**158. The revolt of the Scots.** In 1637, Laud, not content with embittering the Puritans of England, **undertook to force on the Presbyterian Church of Scotland a revised liturgy** that enraged every patriotic son of the North who was proud of his national Church.<sup>3</sup> The day the new service was read in the

<sup>1</sup> The title of this very characteristic Puritan work is *Histrionum mastix*, — *the Player's Scourge*. It arraigns stage plays as "the very pomp of the Devil." A huge, frigid, erudite, and utterly unreadable book.

<sup>2</sup> An enormous sum for those days. In 1637, for a second alleged offense, Prynne was ordered to have the "stumps of his ears" cut off, and to be sent into perpetual imprisonment. He was set free as soon as the Puritan revolution fairly began.

<sup>3</sup> Since James became King of England, Scotland had been governed by a



great church in Edinburgh, there was an angry tumult among the congregation. A serving-woman, Jane Geddes, flung her stool at the officiating clergyman. "Out, false thief! dost thou say mass at my lug [ear]!" she cried. It was an act that expressed the feeling of a poor, but proud and belligerent nation. Vainly did Charles offer smooth words. Nobles and Commons of Scotland united in a solemn "**Covenant**" in defense of their beloved type of the Gospel, and in their Parliament declared Episcopacy abolished in the land. The next step was downright armed rebellion against Charles's authority. The king had now a formidable war on his hands: and Charles's extremity was the English Puritans' opportunity.

#### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Gunpowder Plot; "King James Version"; Sir Walter Raleigh; "Divine Right of Kings"; Duke of Buckingham; Sir John Eliot; Petition of Right; Ship Money; Puritan; Thomas Wentworth; the Scottish Covenant.
2. The character of James I. Compare with that of Elizabeth.
3. Make a summary of James's policies under these heads — relations with the Puritans; relations with the Catholics; relations with foreign countries; relations with Parliament. How did these policies and their results affect (a) James's relations with his subjects, and (b) the way in which England was regarded by other nations. Compare James with Elizabeth in this respect.
4. The character of Charles I. Compare with that of James I and with the character of the Tudors.
5. What were the conditions which led to the granting of the "Petition of Right"?
6. How did Charles obtain money during his period of arbitrary rule?
7. The religious policy of Archbishop Laud.
8. What circumstances led the Scotch to revolt?
9. How did the Scotch revolt affect the situation in England?

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royal council, — nominally as an independent kingdom, — though subject, of course, to the orders of the absent sovereign. The Scots resented English interference profoundly, and were driven to frenzy by the least suggestion which "savoured of Popery," as they claimed was the case with the English ("Episcopal") service.



## EXERCISES

1. By what right of descent did James I have a claim to the English throne?
2. James I as king in Scotland before 1603.
3. The Millenary Petition and the Hampton Court Conference.
4. What were the "liberties of England"? What rights were disputed by James and Parliament?
5. Compare the rights claimed by Parliament under the Stuart kings with the rights conceded to Parliament by Henry IV.
6. Foreign relations under Charles I.
7. The work of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts under the Stuarts.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 302-12.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 387-93. An English history (Ransome, pp. 485-539).



## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE GREAT CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND AND THE RULE OF CROMWELL

159. *The Scots and the "Short Parliament"* (1640). Charles was in a sore strait. He could not raise an efficient army against the Scots without abundant money: he dared not wring more money from his English subjects lest they rise also in rebellion. The king scraped together a very inefficient and ill-paid force, but it was useless to lead it against the well-conducted Scots. Very reluctantly, then, Charles convoked an English Parliament, in the hope of securing authority for general taxation, but its spirit proved so intractable, he dissolved it so speedily, that it has been forever known as the "**Short Parliament.**" At his wits' end he solicited funds from Spain and even from the Pope, but gained nothing. His coffers were empty. His own army was hopelessly feeble and disaffected. To keep the Scots from marching to London, he made a truce with them, agreeing to pay them a heavy subsidy until final peace was made. Only a Parliament could give him the money needful to appease the none too modest Scots. With a heavy heart, Charles again summoned his Lords and Commons. On November 3, 1640, the "**Long Parliament**" met at Westminster. It was the most famous Parliament in English history.

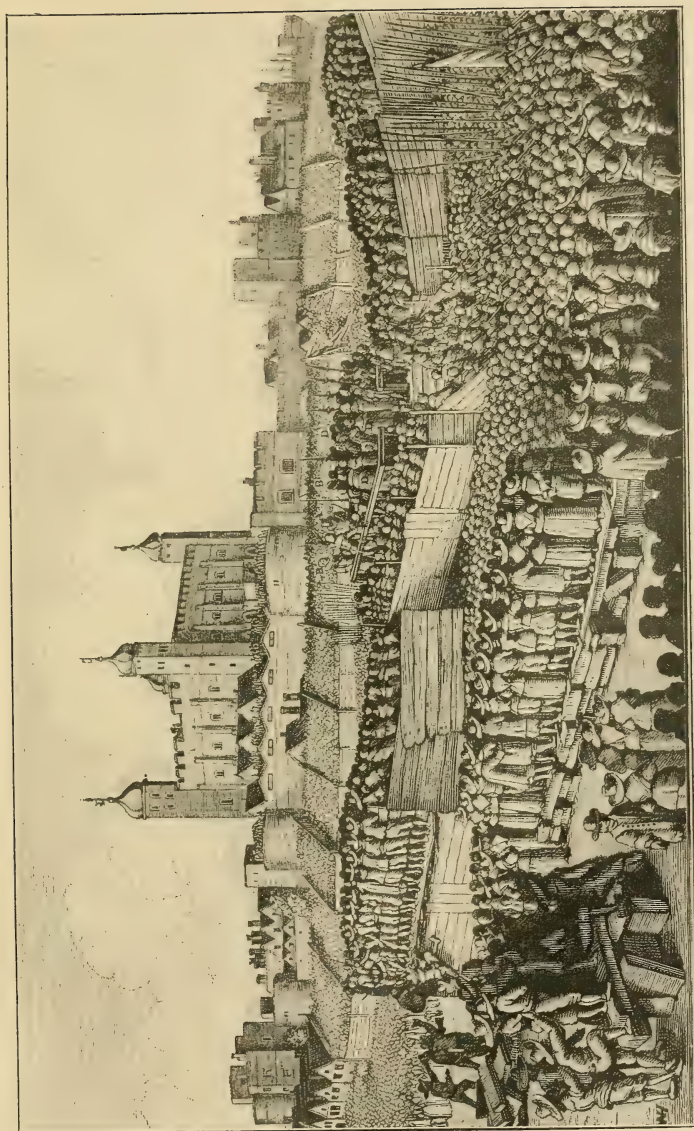
160. *The "Long Parliament"* (1640-1660). The choice of the House of Commons of England was far from resting in those days with the peasantry and artisans: the most influential factors were the country gentleman and the well-to-do merchant classes. These men were not revolutionists, and many had little sympathy with the Puritans. But they were



enraged at the recent arbitrary rule; they resented the illegal taxation; they saw in the religious changes of Laud a direct reaction toward Catholicism. They were strengthened in their task by the knowledge that behind them were the good wishes of the greater part of England, and that if the king resisted them, he was totally without funds for coping with the Scots. John Hampden, Sir Harry Vane, Denzill Hollis were among the mouthpieces for this party: but the great champion of parliamentary rights was **John Pym**, who has been described as an "intense conservative," but whose conservatism took the form not of preserving the rights of the Crown, but the rights of Parliament. To his mind, Parliament was absolute, and he was willing to trample on all things else to vindicate its power. He and his followers came to the assembly with a sweeping program of reforms. "They had now," said Pym, "an opportunity to make the country happy by **removing all grievances**, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots." They had not to wait long ere selecting an object for attack.

**161. *The trial and death of Strafford (1641).*** In the former days Pym and Strafford had been friends and allies. Together they had opposed the arbitrary acts of the Crown in Charles's earlier Parliaments. Then Strafford had made his peace with the king, and heartily adopted the royal policy. Pym had remained in opposition, and he had never forgiven Strafford for what he considered his treason. **The Parliamentary Party considered Strafford the heart and soul of the attempt at absolutism.** They feared his iron will and merciless methods, and believed that in destroying him they would teach a lesson to royal ministers for all time. Strafford was speedily denounced by Pym in the Commons as an "apostate," who had become "the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country." Carried away by Pym's eloquence and by their own wrath and fears, the Commons hastily voted **to impeach Strafford** before the House of Lords, and he was forthwith cast into prison.





THE EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD

The large building in the center is the famous Tower of London. (*After Hollar*)



Strafford had been charged with high treason; but as a nobleman of England he was entitled to a fair trial before the Lords, and while it was easy enough to prove him guilty of unlawful and arbitrary acts, treason was in essence an attack upon the king, and the king had been only too well pleased with Strafford's policies. The accused man made a skillful defense, and it seemed possible that he might be acquitted. In that case he would soon be free and ready for desperate vengeance. Driven to bay, the Commons voted a **Bill of Attainder**<sup>1</sup> against him. The Lords hesitated to concur in this, but were presently brought to the Earl of Essex's mind, that "Stone dead hath no fellow." While the mob of London was clamoring for the fallen minister's life, the Lords passed the bill. The king had yet to sign it: he had promised Strafford he should not suffer in "life, honor, or fortune," but the mob threatened the palace. Charles feared for his wife and children. **He signed the bill of attainder and his great minister perished.** "Put not your trust in princes," said Strafford grimly at the end.

**162. *The attack on the five members.*** Strafford was dead, Laud was imprisoned (to be executed four years later); for a moment the king seemed totally unable to resist the onslaught on his authority. The Courts of Star Chamber and of the High Commission had been abolished. Subservient judges were impeached and cast into prison. Ship-money and other improper methods of taxation were forbidden by law. Chief of all, for immediate purposes, the king had been compelled to assent to an act providing that **the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.** He seemed deprived

<sup>1</sup> This declared a man a criminal without a trial, and ordered his prompt execution (see chapter XXI, section 139). It had been used by such rulers as Henry VIII to dispose of obnoxious subjects against whom they could not prove specific crimes. It is worthy of note that in their eagerness to remove a man they feared, the Commons did not shrink from highly drastic methods, as flagrant and unjustifiable as any of the royal prerogatives they were attacking.



of his last weapon, and the government of the country really taken out of his hands. As a matter of fact, however, Charles was somewhat biding his time, and the Parliamentarians were no longer able to unite on a further policy. Many thoughtful men, though willing to destroy Strafford and to attack various extreme abuses, refused to tie the hands of the king for the future, and especially to follow the Puritans, when in Parliament they endeavored to abolish Episcopacy in the English Church in favor of a system more on the Presbyterian order. Several of Pym's former prominent supporters went over to the king's side, and the "Grand Remonstrance," a solemn protest in which all the ill-doings of the Crown were arraigned and remedies demanded, was passed in the Commons by a majority of only eleven. Under these conditions, early in 1642, the king attempted an awkward counter-stroke.

The royal attorney-general attempted to accuse five prominent members of the Commons of high treason.<sup>1</sup> When the Commons showed no alacrity in ordering the arrest of these men, **Charles committed the enormous blunder of entering the House of Commons in person**, followed to the doorway by an armed band. The five had already fled away to their friends in London. Charles strode down the aisle into the House, as never for long a king had thrust himself, and demanded of the Speaker "Where they were." The other, falling on his knees, answered the king, "he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, but as the House was pleased to direct him." "I see the birds have flown," spoke the monarch, and walked out baffled, followed by the shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!" from the angry members. A great rising of the Londoners put any further attempt to arrest the five out of the question. After this act by Charles, it was only a question of months ere war should break out. On January 10, 1642, he

<sup>1</sup> They were Pym, Hampden, and three others. The main *onus* of the charges was conspiracy with the Scots against England.







king was sustained by most of the nobility, by the adherents of the Church of England generally, and by the bulk of the galloping and hunting race of the country gentry whose estates covered the western counties. The war lasted from 1642 to 1647,<sup>1</sup> and was at first very unskillfully conducted by both sides. **Charles made his seat at Oxford**, rallied his adherents about him, and strove to force his way to London, where the Parliament was directing the campaign against him. He had a dashing cavalry leader in his nephew, **Prince Rupert** "of the Rhine,"<sup>2</sup> who, however, lacked the solid qualities of a great general. The Parliament's first commander-in-chief, the Earl of Essex, was little more than a brave mediocrity.

The scales at first inclined in favor of the king, whose cavalry, composed of gallant country gentlemen, decidedly outmatched the Parliamentary horse recruited from none too martial townsmen.<sup>3</sup> But gradually the contest turned against Charles after an alliance had been made (1643) between the Parliament and the Scots, and the events of war had developed that his enemies had in **Oliver Cromwell**, a squire of Huntingdon, a general of the very first order. Cromwell was the incarnation of Puritanism. The struggle was to him a holy war against "Prelacy," and its possible ally, "Popery." He charged into battle with a prayer and a psalm, as did the doughty "Ironsides" who composed his terrible mounted regiments. In 1644, he proved their might at the Parliamentary victory of Marston Moor; then finally at **Naseby** (June 14, 1645) he smote the royal army in a decisive battle. "God is our strength!" thundered the Puritans as they swept down on the Royalists. The victory was so complete that Cromwell

<sup>1</sup> The last serious fighting, however, was in 1645.

<sup>2</sup> He was the son of the unfortunate Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, who strove to seize the crown of Bohemia.

<sup>3</sup> The Royalists were popularly known in this contest as the "Cavaliers" — a sufficiently descriptive epithet. The Parliamentarians were styled "Round-heads," from the closely cropped hair of the London apprentices, their ardent partisans, as opposed to the long "love-locks" of their adversaries.



reported the result as showing "none other but the hand of God." Charles held out after a fashion nearly two years longer, but he had no chance of success. In 1647, his best forces dispersed, he took refuge with the army of the Scots, considering them the more pliable of his enemies.

#### 164. *The triumph of the army and the death of the king.*

The confidence of Charles in his Northern subjects was misplaced. On the payment of £40,000, already due them as arrears for their help to Parliament, **the Scots turned the king over to his victorious enemies.** He was at first treated with consideration and an effort made to reach some accommodation by which he could continue, at least, as the nominal sovereign of England. Unfortunately the victors at London were now at odds among themselves. The majority of Parliament was anxious to make Presbyterianism the state religion of England; but not so the army, where "Independent"<sup>1</sup> notions prevailed, and where all manner of strange Protestant sects found adherents. Cromwell himself stood firmly for tolerance within certain limits.



A LIGHT HORSEMAN OF  
CROMWELL'S DAY

Showing equipment of  
an "Ironside." (From the  
collection of Captain Orde  
Brown)

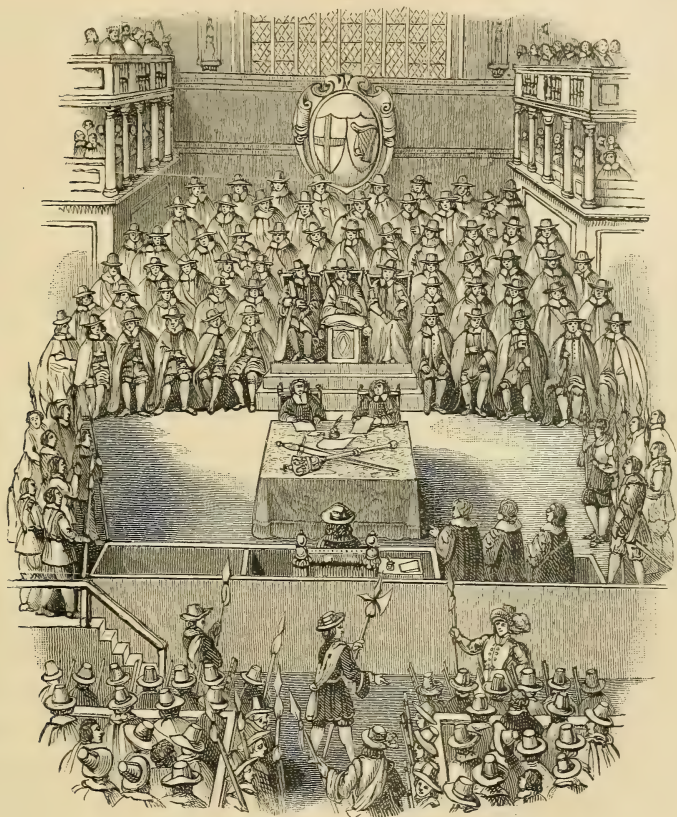
"The State in choosing men to serve it," said he, "takes no notice of their opinions." When Parliament strove to disband the army without giving the pay which the soldiers felt they deserved, the troops seized the person of the king and forced certain leading Presbyterians to quit the House.

The Puritan army, whereof Cromwell was the guiding spirit, was now the real Government of England. In its councils of

<sup>1</sup> The "Independents" had closer affinities to the present-day "Congregationalists" than to any other Protestant body.



officers and men, assemblies that often partook more of the nature of great prayer-meetings than of military assemblies, the policy of the Government was shaped. An attempt of a



THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I

Scottish army now to interfere in Charles's behalf was crushed by Cromwell in the masterly battle of Preston (1648). But the Presbyterians still would not submit to "Independent" dictation. In November, 1648, the army entered London, and Colonel Pride with his guards proceeded to exclude one hun-



dred and forty-three Presbyterian members from the House. After "Pride's Purge," the remnant of the Long Parliament, the "Rump," as it was called, was totally subservient to the army.

The minds of Cromwell and his men were made up. Charles had refused all acceptable terms of accommodation. He had equivocated and balked, and intrigued to sow dissensions among his enemies. In his behalf much blood had been shed. The soldiers now demanded that "**Charles Stuart, that man of blood,**" should perish. He was tried before an extraordinary commission, found guilty of levying war against his Parliament and people, and Tuesday, January 30, 1649, was **executed in London**. Historians still differ as to whether he was a great martyr or a great knave: probably he partook of both.<sup>1</sup>

**165. *The Commonwealth and the "Rump" Parliament (1649-53).*** England was now a "Commonwealth" with an avowedly republican form of government. The great majority of the people had not approved of the abolition of the monarchy. The unrepresentative "Rump" Parliament and the all powerful army were hasting on from deed to deed far in advance of public opinion; but for the moment Cromwell and his fellows carried all before them. In 1650, the Scots undertook to crown **Charles II** (the eldest son of Charles I). Cromwell invaded their country and defeated them roundly at **Dunbar**; and later, when Charles II undertook to invade England from the north in 1651, Cromwell dispersed his forces with one great blow at **Worcester**. "It was a stiff business," wrote the victor, but it practically ended the civil wars. Amid many romantic adventures Charles II escaped to France. The distracted folk had

<sup>1</sup> Charles's immediate cause of shipwreck was his unwillingness to give a pledge, on which his enemies could rely, to govern with a Parliament and with officers practically chosen for him by the predominant Puritans. All Charles's public dealings seem stamped with insincerity and tortuousness. "His word was not the word of a king." At the end, however, he died with great firmness and dignity, displaying many noble traits of Christian character.



peace; and the "Rump" and the army were left to try to find a system of government which might prove acceptable to the land, and which should not rest merely on the sanction of armed force. The "Rump" was feeble, but pretentious, and presently fell out with its master, the chief of the "Ironsides," and undertook to pass a bill against which he and his officers had protested. On April 20, 1653, Cromwell came to the House, followed by his grim-faced musketeers. "I will put an end to your prating," he announced.

"You are no Parliament! Begone! Give way to honester men!" "Put him out," he ordered, turning on the Speaker, and the soldiers hustled the members from the room. "This house is to be let, unfurnished," was the sign a Royalist wag affixed later on the door of the locked Parliament chamber. England had at length arrived at what was almost absolute monarchy.

**166. Cromwell, Lord Protector of England (1653-58).** Cromwell was absolute monarch, thanks to the good will of the most formidable body in England, the Puritan army. Even his enemies confessed, however, that he was no imbecile or inactive ruler. As "**Lord Protector**," his administration was characterized by commercial prosperity and expansion, by colonial acquisitions,<sup>1</sup> by the development of efficient naval power, with attendant victories over Holland and Spain, and a most honorable alliance with France. At home he strove earnestly to put his power on a constitutional basis. Many of his Puritan followers were now thorough-going Republicans,



PURITAN COSTUME

<sup>1</sup> Jamaica, especially, was taken from Spain. Cromwell laid the foundation of British colonial policy.



and refused to hear of a monarchy; yet the great majority were certainly wedded to most of the old institutions. Three times Cromwell convened Parliaments, but his own anomalous position and the attitude of the extreme Republicans who sat in them, made it impossible for him to work with them, and all these assemblies had to be somewhat hastily dissolved. Cromwell persisted, however, well convinced that God had summoned him to press for a final solution of the national difficulties. Probably, if he had lived ten years longer, he would have been able to disregard the Republican malcontents in the army and declare himself king. Could he have done so, the institutions of England would surely have been remade permanently, but in 1658 he died aged only fifty-nine. "A larger soul than his," said one who knew him, "hath seldom dwelt in this house of clay."

**167. *The return of the Stuarts (1660). What the civil war accomplished.*** The events following the death of Oliver Cromwell can be soon told. He left his titles, but not his ability, to his weak son, **Richard Cromwell**. The hand of the master removed, the army officers were soon at bitter quarrel; and in 1659, the remains of the "Rump" Parliament, as the only body still maintaining old legalities, were restored by the soldiers. The increasing dissensions led Richard Cromwell to resign his powers, and the situation became intolerably confused. With the great Oliver gone, and the army divided and less formidable, the voice of the nation could not be disregarded. **Monk**, the one general who gained a firm grasp on the situation, enforced the calling of a "free Parliament,"<sup>1</sup> which the whole population earnestly desired. In 1660, the "Convention,"<sup>2</sup> chosen in accordance with the general wishes, voted to summon **Charles II**, eldest son of the late king, back from

<sup>1</sup> No elections had been held for Parliament (except for Oliver's irregular Parliaments) since 1640.

<sup>2</sup> Since it was not summoned regularly by a king, it was legally a mere assembly, or "convention."



France, on condition of specious pledges of pardon for all the past, and of constitutional government in the future.

The rule of the Puritans had collapsed with extreme rapidity. The "Saints" (as they styled themselves) had failed to establish a Commonwealth on ultra-Protestant principles, because English public opinion had refused to follow them. **The "Great Civil War," however, had not been fought in vain.** Royalty had been taught an abiding lesson; and after a seeming reaction for the next generation nearly all that was really good in the movement which Pym and Cromwell had championed, became finally embodied in the laws and society of England. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it was Cromwell (despite many acts which seemed to savor of military absolutism) who really made toleration in religion possible and absolute government impossible in every English-speaking land.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics*—The Short Parliament; John Hampden; John Pym; Bill of Attainder; the Grand Remonstrance; Rupert of the Rhine; Cavaliers; Roundheads; Ironsides; Pride's Purge; Commonwealth; Protectorate; Richard Cromwell; General Monk.
2. *Geography*—
  - (a) Locate Oxford; Marston Moor; Naseby; Preston; Dunbar; Worcester.
  - (b) Indicate on the map the parts of England which stood by the king and those which stood by Parliament.
3. Summarize the events which led to the meeting of the Long Parliament.
4. What was the attitude of the leaders of the Long Parliament at first?
5. What did the Commons hope to accomplish by the death of Strafford?
6. What led to the division in the Parliamentary Party? What use did the king make of that division?
7. Compare the resources of both sides in the war.
8. What were the reasons for the triumph finally of the Parliamentary Party?
9. What led to the disagreement between the army and Parliament?
10. Was the execution of Charles I justifiable? Compare with the execution of Mary Stuart.



11. Compare, as to causes and results, (a) the dissension in Parliament at the time of the Grand Remonstrance; (b) the dissension between the Parliament and the army after the king was taken prisoner; (c) the dissension between Cromwell and the "Rump" Parliament.
12. The nature of Cromwell's rule. Upon what was his power based?
13. What were the permanent results of the Puritan Revolution?

## EXERCISES

1. Was the execution of Strafford justified?
2. Were the relations of the "Five Members" with the Scotch army treasonable?
3. Cromwell's "Ironsides."
4. The Solemn League and Covenant.
5. The Self-denying Ordinance.
6. Why did the Scotch army "interfere in Charles's behalf"?
7. The trial and execution of Charles I. Was he a martyr or a knave?
8. The government under the Commonwealth.
9. Cromwell in Ireland and the "Cromwellian Settlement."
10. The battles of Dunbar and Worcester.
11. Cromwell's foreign policy. What was England's position among the nations under his rule?
12. The character of Cromwell. His services to England.
13. The Declaration of Breda.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 313-23.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 393-94. Gibbins: pp. 130-32, 138-41.

An English history (Ransome, pp. 539-613).



## CHAPTER XXV

### THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY

**168. *Origin of the great struggle.*** While England, France, and Holland had been engaged in their desperate grapple with Spain, Germany, the first home of the Protestants, rested in a state of calm. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) seemed to have adjusted the relations of the two parties satisfactorily. The Emperor and many of the South German princes remained Catholic, while most of the free cities and the North German princes became Protestant. Down to about 1600 the peace was fairly well kept, and it might have lasted longer had each side been willing to keep strictly to the Augsburg agreement; but by that time new factors were coming into play which presently forced on Germany perhaps **the most utterly cruel and destructive war in modern history.**

On the Protestant side the leaders were totally unwilling to concede that *only* such states and cities as were included in the Peace of Augsburg were protected in the exercise of the new religion. Attempts were made, sometimes successfully, to turn other districts to Protestantism which had been Catholic in 1555; and there did not lack reckless politicians at the courts of the Lutheran and Calvinist<sup>1</sup> princes who urged open warfare to complete the extermination of Catholicism.

On the other hand, the Catholics were taking the offensive: the Dukes of Bavaria and the various princes of the Hapsburg (Austrian) territories resorted to many acts of persecution against their numerous Protestant subjects; and the Protes-

<sup>1</sup> A good part of the Protestants of South Germany had adopted the tenets of Calvinism as opposed to Lutheranism. The differences were mainly as to the proper form of church government and as to the exact nature of the Lord's Supper. Between these two branches of Protestantism there was often only very cold charity.



tants complained that encroachments were made upon their religious rights in districts protected by the Peace of Augsburg. The influential Jesuit Order, working at the Catholic courts, and equally intriguing opponents at the Protestant courts, kindled religious zeal and magnified grievances. By 1618, both parties were in a state of extreme distrust and ready to draw the sword: then came the final explosion in Bohemia.

**169. *The Revolt of Bohemia against Austria (1618).*** Bohemia was a country ruled by the Catholic Hapsburg Emperors, but containing a restless nobility mainly Protestant. The opposition to the sway of the Emperor Mathias was partly national (dislike of having an Austrian reign in Bohemia), partly religious. The Protestants were exasperated by the entrusting of the actual government to a commission of Catholics; and they could allege various specific acts of persecution and oppression. On May 23, 1618, occurred the famous "throwing from the windows" at Prague, the **Bohemian Capital**, when a band of insurgent noblemen cast three of the Emperor's administrators from one of the palace windows, seventy feet, into a ditch, whence they escaped with their lives as by miracle. After this act there was only desperate resistance open to the revolting Bohemians. They invited to their throne the **Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate**,<sup>1</sup> and boldly defied the Hapsburg to reconquer them.

The Bohemian revolt was ill-conceived and ill-conducted. Many of its leaders did little credit to their religion. Frederick of the Palatinate was an amiable prince, but with no marked abilities. Mathias had been succeeded (1619) by his cousin, **Ferdinand II**, an ardent Catholic, the protégé of the Jesuits, who went into the war with the fervor of a crusader. No effective help came to the Bohemians, while the great Duke Maximilian of Bavaria put his forces at the disposal of Ferdi-

<sup>1</sup> He was the leading Protestant prince of South Germany, and son-in-law of James I of England, whence the Bohemians expected, though vainly, great help.



nand. In 1620, at the battle of the White Hill (near Prague), Frederick of the Palatinate and the Bohemians were utterly crushed, and the victorious Ferdinand felt justified in practically exterminating Protestantism in Bohemia.

**170. *The appearance of Wallenstein.*** So far the war had been mainly Bohemian rather than German, but when the conquerors followed up their success by depriving Frederick of his electorate (to be given to Maximilian) and by punishing his German adherents, many North German Protestants took arms. To confront their formidable armies the Emperor accepted the services of **Albert von Wallenstein**,<sup>1</sup> a brilliant but unscrupulous and self-seeking general, who undertook to recruit an army which should live by the systematic plunder of the country and cost its imperial master next to nothing. For a moment the plan succeeded admirably; and almost all the loose spirits of Europe flocked to Wallenstein's camp. The German Protestants, who secured the alliance of King Christian IV of Denmark, were roundly defeated. Their lands were frightfully devastated by the swarms of human locusts Wallenstein led among them. By 1629, Christian IV had been forced to make peace, and the German Protestants seemed at the mercy of the Emperor.

**171. *The Edict of Restitution* (1629).** Ferdinand's victory appeared almost complete: not merely could Protestantism be extirpated, but Germany could be made into a centralized monarchy something like Spain, subject to the arbitrary sway of the Emperor. In the confidence of the hour Ferdinand published the famous and ill-timed "**Edict of Restitution**," the sum whereof was that practically all the lands which the Protestants had taken possession of since 1555 should be restored to the Catholics; and that in the lands remaining to the Protestants only the Lutherans were to be allowed to exist.

<sup>1</sup> More properly Waldstein, but it is permissible to use his long accepted name. He was a Bohemian, born a Protestant, but reared as a Catholic.



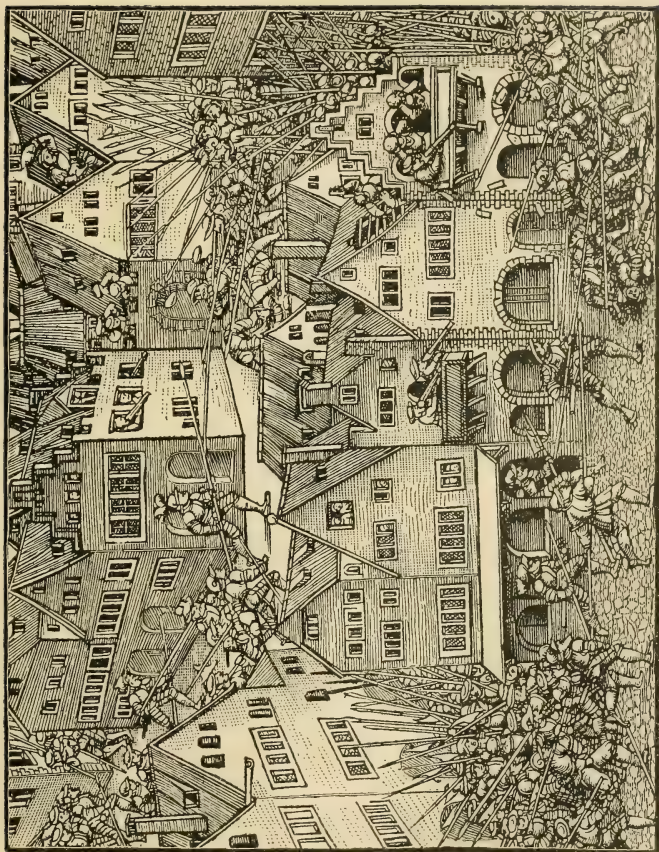
This edict drove to desperation the numerous Calvinists, and convinced many moderate Lutherans — who had held aloof from the earlier war — that their fate would come the next. The terrified Protestants looked anxiously abroad and made ready to welcome the first deliverer, who speedily came to hand in the person of **Gustavus Adolphus**, the great King of Sweden.

**172. *Gustavus Adolphus in Germany* (1630–32).** Before the Swedes had landed in Pomerania, the Emperor had dismissed his best general. Wallenstein had really cared little for the Catholic cause. He had been willing to increase Ferdinand's power, because in so doing he was increasing his own likewise, but the loyal Catholic princes and prince-bishops had been horrified at his aggressive self-seeking, and the marauding of his ill-disciplined soldiery, who often plundered friend and foe alike.<sup>1</sup> At the demand of his invaluable ally, Maximilian of Bavaria, Ferdinand dismissed his too-powerful officer, and disbanded a part of his army.

In July, 1630, however, Gustavus Adolphus crossed the Baltic and entered Germany. He was the king of a comparatively thinly settled and weak country, which had established its own type of Protestantism only after a bitter struggle; but Gustavus Adolphus was a remarkable combination of a religious enthusiast and a great master of war. No doubt there was a political ambition which led him to seek to extend Swedish power south of the Baltic, but no doubt also he went on the campaign in a high belief that he was doing God and man a pure and devoted service. He had been schooled for action in a series of fierce campaigns with the Poles and Danes. **He had evolved a new system of tactics** based on rapid movements, and the adaptation of military formation to the fire-arms, which were replacing the pikes and lances whereon the

<sup>1</sup> It is said that many so-called Protestants served in Wallenstein's nondescript armies, and had their own chaplains, services, etc.





### STORMING A CITY

*(From a woodcut in Stumpf's Schweizer-chronik, Zurich, 1543. Reproduced in Liebe, Der Soldat)*



old style of warfare had been founded. His army was small, but excellently disciplined: a band of blond, blue-eyed giants, sons of the Vikings, pressing south in search, no doubt, of hard blows and booty, but also of a chance to fight for the "Evangelical Religion," which was to them the only true gospel.

They came almost in the death-agony of German Protestantism. For a moment, such was the fear of the Imperialists, that hardly a city dared to open its gates voluntarily to Gustavus. The Lutheran princes hung back, cowed and anxious. The great city of **Magdeburg**, which had held out for the Protestants, was captured (1631) by the Imperialists, and subjected to a sack and massacre which smote fear of the Imperialists into every other Protestant town which had considered following her example. But very foolishly the Emperor alienated the most powerful Protestant prince, Elector John George of Saxony,<sup>1</sup> who made alliance with Gustavus; and at last the time of the Swedes was come. October 17, 1631, on the level plain of **Breitenfeld**, near Leipzig, Gustavus confronted Tilly (Wallenstein's successor in command of the Imperialists). If the battle of the White Hill had decided that Bohemia was not to remain Protestant, Breitenfeld decided that North Germany was not to become Catholic. Tilly drove the Saxons from the field, but the magnificent fighting of the Swedish cavalry turned the tide. The new tactics of Gustavus were totally successful. The night fell upon the wreck of the Imperialists flying in rout from one of the most decisive battle-fields of history. Breitenfeld was "the grave of the Edict of Restitution."

Gustavus lived hardly a year after his victory. For the moment he carried all before him. He won back most of the

<sup>1</sup> The Elector of Saxony had striven hard to save his own debatable lands by an almost slavish alliance with Austria. Now in an ill-advised moment the Emperor strove to enforce the Edict of Restitution against him also.



lands seized by the Imperialists in Central and South Germany. He defeated Tilly a second time and slew him at the Passage of the Lech (1632). Wallenstein was recalled to his command by the frightened Catholics and reassembled his army; he checked Gustavus before his fortified camp near Nuremberg; but matters were still in the balance when the war drifted back toward Saxony again. At **Lützen**,<sup>1</sup> Gustavus attacked Wallenstein and a long, desperate battle ensued. The issue was uncertain when **Gustavus was slain** in the fighting: his men, infuriated by the death of their beloved leader, pressed home the charge. Wallenstein was driven from the field. The glory was to the Swedes, but also the greater loss. They had other good officers, but no leader to replace the fallen hero. For two brief years Gustavus Adolphus plays a great part in history, then vanishes: but those two years were long enough to save German Protestantism.

**173. *The fall of Wallenstein.*** In the lull following the battle, Wallenstein played boldly for his own hand. He knew that he was distrusted by the Imperialists, and he intrigued with the Swedes. A blind believer in "his star," it is not impossible that he might have found his advantage by joining the Protestants: but his officers were less pliable. Just when he was, it seems, on the edge of a great treason, he was murdered at Eger, by certain Irish and Scotch officers,<sup>2</sup> who put their duty to the Emperor above their pledges to their general (1634).

**174. *The French period of the war (1634-48).*** The death of Wallenstein ends the interesting period of the war. The religious motive had nearly gone out of it. All men recognized that **the Protestants and Catholics were about certain to hold their own**; but the hopes of territorial expansion still kept the Swedes in the field, and the Imperialists were unwilling to

<sup>1</sup> Like Breitenfeld, near Leipzig.

<sup>2</sup> Especially the Irish Butler, and the Scotch Gordon and Leslie. There were many Scotch and Irish serving in European armies at this period.



confess that their attempt to crush "heresy" in Germany had failed. And at this point the unhappy Germans were beset by a new horde of invaders — the French.

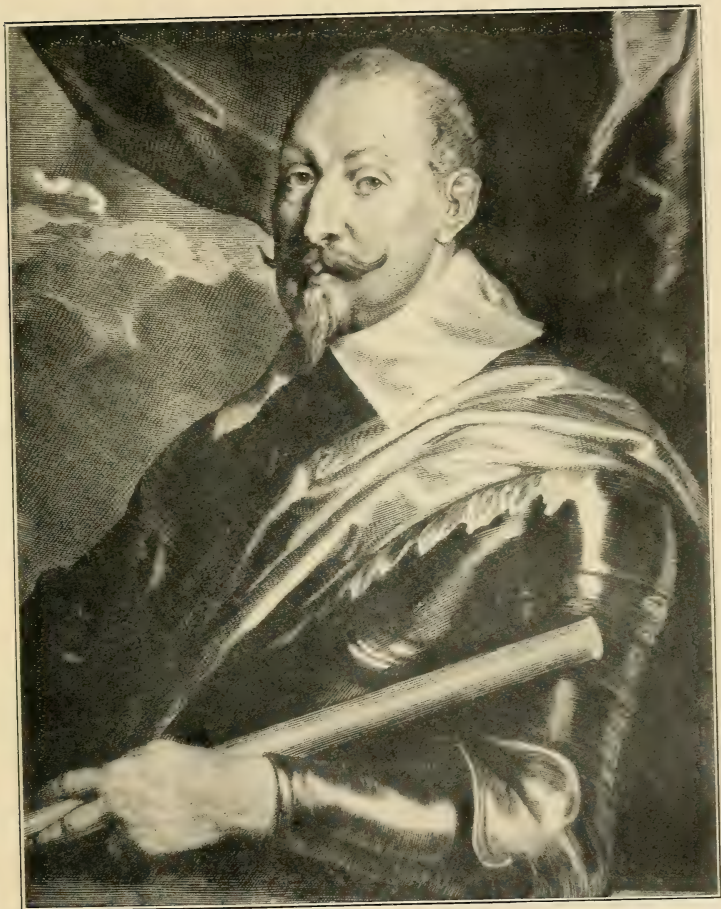
To the brilliant prime minister of Louis XIII, the mighty **Cardinal Richelieu**, the distractions of Germany presented an admirable opportunity for the seizure of territory by France and the humiliation of her old rivals of the House of Austria. Although France was Catholic, Richelieu did not hesitate to make alliance with the Swedes,<sup>1</sup> and while the armies of the skillful generals trained by Gustavus harried from the north, the French armies were dashed upon South Germany across the Rhine. In this last era of the war, deadly, cruel, and devastating, **religious differences were largely lost from sight**. Many Protestant states, e.g., Saxony, had made their peace with Austria. The war swayed back and forth, mostly in Central and South Germany, in numberless battles, usually indecisive but none the less bloody. The Franco-Swedish allies were fighting for territorial gain: the Austrians, not to crush Protestantism, but to preserve intact their dominions. At last the allies gained such advantages that the pride of the Austrian Hapsburgs was humbled. Ferdinand III (1637-57), who had succeeded his father Ferdinand II, consented to peace. After nigh interminable delays a congress of ambassadors signed the Peace of Westphalia, which gave rest to a weary land.

**175. The Peace of Westphalia (1648).** The **Treaty of Westphalia** was a memorable document. Austria and the Catholic Powers solemnly recognized the rights of all Protestant states which had preserved their independence up to 1624;<sup>2</sup> and the states of both religions were put on absolute

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Gustavus, the real ruler of Sweden was the able chancellor Oxenstierna, who ruled for the late king's infant daughter, Queen Christina: some of the Swedish commanders, e.g., Torstenson, were highly capable soldiers, but they lacked the nobility of character which had sent their great sovereign upon his crusade.

<sup>2</sup> This saved most of the Protestants of South Germany, but assented to





GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

King of Sweden (1611-32)

Born 1594

Died 1632







equality in all the affairs of that very shadowy federation still called the "Holy Roman Empire." A new electorate (an eighth) was created in the Lower Palatinate (a Rhine district) for the heirs of that unlucky Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, who had been evicted from his lands in favor of Bavaria:

France was given a strip of territory in Alsace along the Rhine, Sweden a large portion of Pomerania. The various German states, large and small, were confirmed in their local "rights" in so ample a manner that they practically became independent nations in all but name, with only the most nominal overlordship by the Emperor. For political purposes, then, the Peace of Westphalia marks (1) the practical, though not the confessed, end of

the mediæval "Empire," founded by Charlemagne and the Ottos; (2) the admission of Protestants to the councils of Europe, and, therefore, the termination of most of the religious wars. But the peace also brought a most longed-for respite to Germany. **The war had been unspeakably devastating.** The average army had lived by the grossest forms of plunder. For nearly a generation the unhappy land had almost forgotten

their suppression in Austria and Bohemia. — By this treaty also Spain now formally admitted the independence of Holland.



A PLUNDERING SOLDIER — PERIOD OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

(From a woodcut by Ammann, reproduced in *Liebe, Der Soldat*)



what normal peace conditions were. Population had declined terribly.<sup>1</sup> The arts of peace, learning, all forms of civilized life were half forgotten; some trades actually disappeared. In 1600, Germany was among the most prosperous countries in Europe. In 1650, it was infinitely outstripped by France, and barely by 1848 had it recovered all the ground lost in one of the most brutal and destructive wars in history.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Bohemia; the Elector Palatine (Frederick V); Battle of the White Hill; Ferdinand II; Wallenstein; Tilly; Lützen; Oxenstierna.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Augsburg; Prague; Magdeburg; Breitenfeld; Nuremberg; Lützen.
  - (b) Indicate the territorial changes made by the Peace of Westphalia.
3. What were the conditions in Germany which tended to bring on a war?
4. Why did the revolt in Bohemia result in further warfare?
5. What circumstances encouraged the Emperor to issue the Edict of Restitution? What were its terms?
6. Why did Gustavus Adolphus join in the war?
7. Breitenfeld and its importance.
8. Compare Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein as to motives, character, ability as generals, and work accomplished.
9. What was the character of the war after the fall of Wallenstein? Who profited most by the continuation of the war?
10. The provisions of the Peace of Westphalia. Compare with those of the Religious Peace of Augsburg.
11. Compare the effects of the war on Germany with the effects of the Hundred Years' War on France.

### EXERCISES

1. Why did not James I of England send efficient help to the German Protestants?
2. Wallenstein's armies.

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<sup>1</sup> Famine had followed devastation. There were well-authenticated cases of cannibalism. It is asserted that the population of Germany was 17,000,000 when the war began, only 4,000,000 when it ended; though possibly this is an overstatement. In certain districts it was actually proposed that every man should be required to marry two wives to care for the unprotected women.



3. The sack of Magdeburg.
4. The tactics of Gustavus Adolphus at the passage of the Lech River.
5. Richelieu's part in the Thirty Years' War.
6. The Treaty of Westphalia. Would Philip II of Spain have made such a treaty had he been Emperor?
7. What were the provisions in the treaty concerning the Netherlands, and the Swiss Cantons?

### READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 292-301.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 369-85. Lewis: pp. 399-455. Duruy: pp. 399-402. Pattison: pp. 274-300. Lodge: chapter x. Gibbins: pp. 153-55.



## CHAPTER XXVI

### LOUIS XIV, DOMINATOR OF EUROPE

**176. *The greatness of France in 1661.*** The conclusion of the Thirty Years' War left France undoubtedly the first power of Europe. The commanding position of its king is best summed up in the statement that he, **without an ally**, could dare to attack any power he desired, but that no foreign power, even **with an ally**, could venture to attack him. The military and economic resources of the populous, industrious, warlike, and intelligent French nation had been concentrated under the royal power as never before, thanks to the abilities of two great prime ministers (churchmen only in name), the Cardinals **Richelieu** (in power 1624-42)<sup>1</sup> and **Mazarin** (1643-61).

<sup>1</sup> Richelieu, who is counted one of the prime builders of the absolute monarchy in France, was born of a noble but not wealthy house in 1585. He entered the Church in order to "keep in the family" the Bishopric of Luçon, and he was consecrated bishop when only twenty-two. He soon became a valuable assistant to Queen Marie de' Medici, who had become regent for her young son, Louis XIII, after the murder of his father, Henry IV (1610). But for a long time the queen mother and the young king were dominated by unworthy favorites and selfish court factions, and it was not till 1624 that Richelieu's high abilities were recognized and he became a prominent minister in the Government. He was already a cardinal: now he speedily became indispensable to the king, and remained "First Minister" down to his death (1642).

Richelieu was filled with truly patriotic desire to aggrandize France, but "France" for him meant simply the military power of the monarchy. To achieve his end, he waged unremitting war against the "hereditary enemies" of his master, the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain; at first supporting Gustavus Adolphus and the German Protestants against them, and then, after 1635, sending large French armies directly into Germany. At home he had to deal with the Huguenots, who were using the privileges given them by the Edict of Nantes to defy the royal authority; and also to curb the unruly temper of the great French nobles, who still retained much of their feudal insolence. In 1628, Richelieu took La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold, and deprived the French Protestants of their political privileges, although leaving them due exercise of their religion. Against the great nobles he acted with iron severity. Many conspiracies were formed against him, but almost all the promoters thereof paid for their daring on the scaffold.



Through many tumultuous scenes, in the face of bitter court intrigues and even civil war (1648-53), the elements hostile to the crown — turbulent nobles, Huguenots using their religious quarrel for political ends, and stubborn lawyer magnates who controlled the high courts of the kingdom — had all been beaten down. France was submissive to her kings as never before.

Outside of his frontiers **the French monarch had no rival**. Spain was sinking into a lethargy and decadence which made absurd its old claim as “first power of Europe,” despite the fact that its empire still embraced wide dominions. Austria, the standing rival of France, was weakened and humiliated by the result of the Thirty Years’ War. The lesser German states were still demoralized by that terrible struggle. The Republic of Holland and the Kingdom of England might overmatch the French navy, but neither was formidable by land. A great army, a well-filled treasury, a rich, loyal, and extensive land were all at the disposal of Louis XIV, when, after the king’s long minority and tutelage, his great minister, Mazarin, died. Louis was not the man to fail to appreciate his enormous power.

**177. Louis XIV (1643-1715): his absolute government and his court.** Louis XIV was a very fallible man, but he was

When Richelieu died, the royal power seemed dominant at home and victorious abroad. The cardinal had gone on his way with pitiless thoroughness. He had taxed the commonalty mercilessly, and had never let the laws of humanity or morality swerve him from a profitable course of intrigue or war. His death, however, postponed the complete triumph of absolutism in France for over a decade. He was succeeded as “First Minister” by his confidant, Cardinal Mazarin, a supple Italian, who, though not without large abilities as a smooth intriguer, lacked his master’s genius. Mazarin was hated as a foreigner, and the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria (acting for young Louis XIV), though decidedly under his influence, did not support him capably. The nobility and the disaffected citizens of Paris again raised their heads. Spain aided the insurgents with armies. Between 1648 and 1653, France was racked by the so-called “Wars of the Fronde.” Then the ill-considered insurrection dwindled away. Mazarin took up the work of Richelieu, — the organizing of France into one closely centralized despotic monarchy. This work was largely completed when he died in 1661, and turned the government and its politics over to his royal pupil, Louis XIV.



undoubtedly a mighty monarch. He was of great personal dignity: "he was as majestic in his dressing-gown as when dressed in robes of state, or on horseback at the head of his troops." He looked the part of a great potentate, and took his position very seriously. He had much intelligence, a ready



LOUIS XIV. SURROUNDED BY HIS COURT, CONFERRING THE BATON OF  
"MARSHAL OF FRANCE," THE HIGHEST MILITARY HONOR

*(From a contemporary almanac)*

courtesy, and knew when to unbend. When he believed his prerogatives were not trenched upon, he was capable of much kindness. Unluckily, however, he was **the vainest of mortals**, and never did great king lack for a swarm of flatterers. Churchmen and courtiers alike had taught him from his youth that kings were anointed of God; for their actions they were accountable solely to heaven; their subjects could only obey



with diligence. "Majesty is the image of the grandeur of God in the prince," wrote Bossuet, a famous French prelate. Louis, at best of very mortal stuff, was readily convinced by such declarations. Throughout nearly his whole life **he treated the weal of France as synonymous with his own ambition** to extend his frontiers and play the conqueror. Anything like popular liberties he regarded as a calamity. The example of Puritan England was ever before him, and the saying is attributed to him that a Parliament like the English was an intolerable evil for any real monarch. If, indeed, he never used the famous expression, "**I am the state**" (so often ascribed to him), it represents his whole attitude completely.

Very early in his reign he strode, in his hunting costume, before the **Parlement de Paris**,<sup>1</sup> which was hesitating over "registering" (i.e., putting into effect) one of his edicts, and announced, "I have learned that you intend to continue these meetings [to discuss my measures]. I have come here expressly to forbid the continuation of them." And the king was obeyed.

The once haughty nobility of France no longer ruled, each on his feudal seignury. They were on the frontiers, in the king's powerful armies, or in perpetual attendance at the splendid royal court. Shorn now of all real political power, they found recompense in the absurdly elaborate and artificial ceremonial of the household service of their master. The mere process of the king's arising from bed was a great state function: it was a high honor to be allowed to watch him breakfast: a higher glory still to enter his bedroom and to behold him put on his shirt. The favor of the king meant everything, — office, promotions, pensions.

At **Versailles**, near Paris, Louis built him a palace and magnificent gardens surpassing anything the world had seen since

<sup>1</sup> The *Parlement de Paris* was the highest court of France, and was really strictly a legal body: yet it claimed certain political rights, and was the last real check upon royal authority. It had nothing in common with the English "Parliament."



the passing of the Roman Cæsars. Fifty millions of dollars, wrung from the taxpayers of the land, went into this vast monument of vanity and selfishness: "in which France nowhere appears, but only the king."

If, however, Louis had contented himself with mere palace building, his subjects would not have complained bitterly. Down to 1683, his money affairs were controlled by **Colbert, one of the greatest finance ministers who ever held a portfolio.** Not merely were the royal revenues put in excellent order, but energetic and successful attempts were made to develop the commerce and industry of France, to build a formidable navy, and to develop colonies in Canada and India. The first decades of Louis were a period of great prosperity for France, a nation which has always displayed remarkable powers of recuperation and expansion under good government. In 1683, however, Colbert died. He left no real successor; and Louis XIV was already involved in foreign projects which were to ruin his treasury and alienate his subjects.

**178. *The persecution of the Huguenots.*** Richelieu had deprived the Huguenots of the particular political privileges which they had won from Henry IV, but they still kept religious toleration. The great nobles, who for temporal reasons had once embraced Calvinism, had now mostly fallen away, but there were still a million Protestants, and these Louis regarded with no friendly eye. He was himself a fairly devout Catholic, and was doubtless sincere in his action; yet it was probably the fact that he wished to have all his subjects conform to *his* views on all matters, rather than any burning religious zeal, which made him turn persecutor.<sup>1</sup> The Protestants were now mostly middle-class townspeople, merchants and artisans, the very class of the population most useful for the economic weal of France.

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV, like Philip II, was often on very bad terms with the Pope, treating him (in secular matters) in a very bullying and offensive manner.



Various half-measures were at first used to secure conversions to the older religion. Catholic preachers labored among the Protestants with various success. The over-zealous war-minister, Louvois, was allowed to "dragoon" the hesitant by means of the army.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the last blow was struck; in 1685, **the Edict of Nantes** (securing religious toleration to the Protestants) **was repealed**. "No Protestant could meet for any worship. All their ministers were banished from the kingdom within fifteen days; but their laity were forbidden to follow them under penalty of confiscation of goods and pain of the galleys."<sup>2</sup>

Whether Louis ever understood the full unwisdom of his act is unknown;<sup>3</sup> yet it was a deed of extreme folly. Despite dreadful persecution, several hundreds of thousands of Protestants remained in France, and kept their religion; and despite the laws, nearly 300,000 of them fled to England, Germany, and America, carrying with them the peaceful arts which were so needed by their native land. By this blow to a valuable part of her peaceful population, **the industry and commerce of France were demoralized**, at a time when the foreign policy of Louis was making necessary the wealth of all his subjects.

**179. The wars of Louis XIV.** But that which really made the reign of Louis XIV fatal for France was his series of wars. From 1660 down to 1667 was a period of peace; then the ambitious king began a series of campaigns directed against the power of Austria and Holland, and particularly against the dying Empire of Spain.<sup>4</sup> Especially he strove to enlarge his

<sup>1</sup> The term "dragooning" (dragonnade) arose from the practice of quartering a squad of brutal soldiers upon the family it was desired to coerce.

<sup>2</sup> So the terms of Louis's act are summarized by Duruy, a moderate Catholic writer.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the king's leading statesmen and courtiers honestly commended his action. "Nothing could be finer: no king ever did, or ever will do, anything so memorable," wrote Madame de Sévigné, one of the first literary figures of the time.

<sup>4</sup> It is curious to observe that in these wars, Holland and Spain (old enemies) are now firm allies against the common menace of France.



dominions along the Rhine and in Flanders. With an army of 350,000 men, with a navy which almost matched that of England or Holland, with two very able generals (Condé and Turenne) to lead his forces, Louis felt justified in a series of aggressions which really had only his own selfish ambition to justify them, despite much fine talk concerning "the glory of France."

In his first war (1667-68) he tore from Spain a considerable part of her territories in Flanders. His second war was directed against Holland (1672-79). Louis had actually forced his way close to the Dutch capital, Amsterdam, and was proposing to reduce the Dutch Republic to abject vassalage, when his desperate enemies cut the dikes, and the French retired before the flood. In 1679, Louis made peace with the powers allied against him, and Spain again suffered — being despoiled of Franche-Comté.

But Louis had now raised against him an inveterate enemy. **William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland**,<sup>1</sup> assumed the task of welding Europe together against the overweening power of France. William was not a remarkable general, nor a flawless statesman, but he was a leader of dauntless courage, who never confessed defeat. Thanks to his success (1689) in securing the crown of England,<sup>2</sup> which now became the firm ally of Austria, Spain, and Holland, in Louis's third great war (1688-97), France had to fight England also, and the English navy turned the scale. Louis could wring out of his sorely strained kingdom sufficient strength to fight all Europe by land, but not enough also to match the English sea-power, which had been constantly growing. The land fighting along the Rhine and in Flanders was bloody, devastating, and indecisive. In 1692, the great battle of La Hogue almost broke the naval strength of France. Peace came in 1697 (**Treaty of Ryswick**), with practically no

<sup>1</sup> He was the descendant of the great William the Silent, the foe of Philip II.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter xxvii, section 189.



new conquests for Louis.<sup>1</sup> His best generals were dead, his armies depleted, his treasury drained, his sorely taxed subjects murmuring. Wisdom should have taught him that France could not conquer Europe, and that the rest of his reign should be one of peace.

**180. *The siege of Vienna by the Turks (1683).*** One factor which earlier aided Louis XIV was the terrible peril which threatened his Austrian enemies from the rear. The Turkish Empire was falling into weakness and disorder, but it was still a menace to the Austrians, and the sultan's redoubtable "*Bashi-bazouks*" [light cavalry] and Janizaries threatened to seize all Hungary. In 1683, all Christendom trembled when the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, laid siege to **Vienna** with a horde of 150,000 Orientals. The Christian capital was hard-pressed. The fortifications were old; the garrison only 14,000. But Count Stahremberg, the commandant, held out gallantly, awaiting succor. For nearly two months the fate of Vienna hung in the balance. Then, when the crumbling defenses seemed about to succumb, the besieging host was handsomely routed by the relieving force led by **John Sobieski, King of Poland**. "There was a man sent from God whose name was John!" quoted the court preacher, in the thanksgiving service after the victory. **From this day the Turkish power waned.** Never again was it a danger to western Europe outside of the Balkan Peninsula.

**181. *The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13).*** Late in his life Louis XIV foolishly embarked again on a great war. **The King of Spain, Charles II, had died without direct heirs.** Rather than see his empire parceled out amongst several distant claimants, he left his whole dominions to Philip, the second son of the French dauphin.<sup>2</sup> In defiance of his pledges to

<sup>1</sup> The treaty, however, allowed him to keep the German free city of Strassburg, which he had seized during a time of nominal peace (1681) with barely a shadow of justification.

<sup>2</sup> Charles II had, of course, no great love for his old enemy, France, but the











England, Austria, and Holland, Louis undertook to maintain this French prince on the throne of Spain. The result was the most disastrous war of his long reign. Louis had no competent generals left, nor any great ministers. At **Blenheim** (Bavaria, 1704), Marlborough,<sup>1</sup> the English leader of the allies, defeated the French utterly. In 1706, he smote them again at **Ramillies** (Brabant). France itself at length was invaded, and, after still more defeats, Louis's pride humbled in the dust.

Peace came at last in 1713 (**Treaty of Utrecht**). The French-born Philip (V of Spain) kept the Spanish throne, but under conditions that insured the perpetual independence of Spain from France. Most of the possessions which Spain held in Italy, together with the Spanish Netherlands, were handed over to Austria. England gained from Spain the **Rock of Gibraltar**, which she holds to this day, and from France, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay Country in America.

**The wars of Louis XIV had ended in pronounced failure.**

**182. *The effect of the example of Louis XIV: his end (1715).*** The example of Louis XIV was disastrous for Europe. Even the princes (e.g., of Germany) who fought him most bitterly saw in him their ideal: a monarch who trampled upon the old liberties of his subjects, who exploited the public resources to build up a magnificent court, who claimed to rule by "divine right," and who made war for the gratification of his personal glory and ambition. The wars of the Reformation period were at least fought by men who were genuinely in earnest, and who believed they were fighting for noble principles. The wars of Louis XIV were wholly avoidable: were usually the results of

alternative was to see several other claimants — especially Austria — divide his dominions. What made Louis's action in accepting the Spanish crown in behalf of his grandson especially obnoxious was the fact that he had made a solemn treaty with England and Austria promising the Spanish homeland and the Spanish Netherlands to an Austrian prince, though France was to have Lorraine.

<sup>1</sup> Marlborough was a wonderful general, and his strategic methods mark an epoch in the history of warfare. It is said that he never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle which he did not win.



mere dynastic covetousness; and after causing infinite misery they really left the frontiers of France little changed.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly every princelet of Germany — perhaps with a territory so small that a cannon ball could cross from boundary to boundary — must have his palace (a miniature Versailles), a costly and self-important court, and a handful of inefficient soldiers, — his “standing army,” — all paid for, of course, by the wretched peasants, his subjects. It took nearly a century for monarchical Europe to recover from the spell cast over it by “Le Grand Monarque,” as the French, even amid their grumblings, delighted to style their masterful king.

And yet Louis was as much the victim of the conditions of royalty in which he was placed as the deliberate champion of despotism. **He had a high and genuine desire to advance the weal of his people**, and never shirked the tedious hours in the cabinet supervising the work of his ministers. “We ought to consider the good of our subjects more than our own” (he asserted); “and it is a fine thing to deserve from them the name of ‘father’ as well as ‘master.’” Unfortunately, his surroundings rendered him purblind to the fact that the last things his subjects needed were disastrous wars, which ruined their commerce and doubled their taxes, drained France of her youth, yet added comparatively little to her boundaries.

When he died in 1715, the public debt of France was over \$480,000,000,<sup>2</sup> and the treasury was all but empty. Commerce was stagnant. The salaries of officials had been long in arrears. Even the high nobles were in debt, while the peasantry were in sorest need. Much of the land lay uninhabited and fallow.

Louis XIV himself pronounced a true criticism upon his own reign, when he lay upon his deathbed, and his great-grandson, a mere boy of five (Louis XV), the heir to his power, was led

<sup>1</sup> Of course, as a net result of Louis's aggressions France *did* retain some possessions toward the Rhine (Franche-Comté, Strassburg, etc.), but at a tremendous price.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, the equivalent of a far greater sum to-day.



before him. "Try," spoke the dying monarch, "to keep peace with your neighbors: I have been too fond of war. Do not imitate me in that, nor in my over-great expenditure." His personality and power had dominated Europe for nearly two thirds of a century, and in him "**monarchy by divine right**" reached its climax.

Louis XV did not profit by his admonitions: and Louis XVI, his successor in turn, was beheaded in the French Revolution.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Parlement de Paris; Versailles; Colbert; Dragonnades; Edict of Nantes; Kara Mustapha; John Sobieski; Marlborough; War of the Spanish Succession.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Versailles; Amsterdam; La Hogue; Vienna; Strassburg; Blenheim; Utrecht; Gibraltar.
  - (b) Mark the territories added to France under Louis XIV.
  - (c) Mark the boundaries of the European nations after the Treaty of Utrecht.
3. The conditions in France in 1661. Compare with those in the other European states.
4. Compare Louis XIV with James I and Charles I as to their ideas of government. Why was absolute government possible in France and impossible in England?
5. What led to the repeal of the Edict of Nantes? What were the political results of the repeal? The economic results?
6. Learn the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht.
7. Compare France in 1715 with France in 1661. Was Louis XIV wholly to blame for the evil conditions in 1715?

### EXERCISES

1. Richelieu and Mazarin — compare them in character and work accomplished.
2. The court of Louis XIV.
3. Colbert, and French colonization in America.
4. Vauban, Condé, and Turenne.
5. What had been the relations between Francis I and the Turks?
6. The battle of Blenheim. Why is it one of the "decisive battles"?
7. The career of Marlborough.



8. Find illustrations of the statement concerning the evil effects of the influence of Louis XIV upon other European states.
9. Taxation under Louis XIV.
10. How did the revocation of the Edict of Nantes affect the foreign relations of Louis XIV?
11. The culture of the eighteenth century.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 332-45, 353.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 345-86, 402-05, 410-33. Duruy: pp. 385-475. Pattison: pp. 301-28. Lodge: chapters XI, XII, XIII. Gibbins: pp. 113-14, 132-33, 159-60. Robinson and Beard: vol. I, pp. 4-28; 34-50.



## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE LATER STUARTS IN ENGLAND AND THEIR OVERTHROW

183. *Charles II*, "*The Merry Monarch*" (1660-85). The sovereign whom the English recalled was a person of no mean capacity. He was an abler man than his father, Charles I; he was more worldly-wise than his grandfather, James I. He had much personal grace and good humor, and an easy-going manner which enabled him to manipulate men to his own ends. He had not enjoyed his life as an exile on the Continent, and returned to England firmly resolved "never to set out on his travels again." No cause was likely to find in him a martyr, but, on the other hand, he was quite willing to assert his power so far as appeared safe. The nation, wearied of Puritanism, welcomed a monarch who had no morality but one of pleasure, and who threw his court and his people into an eager attempt to restore color to life. Charles's private habits were those of an elegant debauchee. He surrounded himself with scandalous courtiers and a crowd of mistresses. French influence was immediately visible in the drama and letters of the day, while concrete proof of its existence was the pension which Louis XIV paid to Charles for several years of his reign, receiving in return the virtual disposal of England's foreign policy. He had so little genuine religion that, although he seems for long to have really believed in Roman Catholicism, he never lifted a finger effectively to protect his fellow believers from severe persecution during many years; and only upon his deathbed professed the religion that he really held. Under such a monarch England was destined to submit to a distinct lapse from the proud position among the nations which she had held under Cromwell.



184. *The persecution of the Puritans and the Catholics.*

The return of the Royalists had meant the wiping-off of old scores accumulated by the friends of the Episcopal system



DINNER AT THE COURT OF CHARLES II

Note that royalty always dined under a canopy, one of the most cherished of royal honors. (*From an engraving in the Print Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale*)

(whose worship had been banned under the Protectorate) against their Puritan enemies. Not merely, in the reaction from the austere Cromwellian régime, were the Puritan divines driven from their pulpits,<sup>1</sup> but their private religious gatherings

<sup>1</sup> Two thousand ministers, and those not the least learned or devoutly minded, were forced to quit their churches in 1662, rather than take the required oaths pledging them to accept the rule of bishops and the Church of England Prayer-Book. Hitherto many of the Puritans had tried to effect reforms from *within* the English Church: now they deliberately placed themselves *outside* the Church and organized various "Nonconformist" churches, which remain to this day. Probably Charles's efforts in behalf of the Nonconformists were simply to cover up designs to aid the Catholics.



were forbidden. Under the laws of the "Clarendon Code," not more than five persons besides the members of a household might be present at any Puritan prayer-meeting, nor might any of their ministers approach within five miles of an incorporated town.

Charles by no means approved of his Parliament's furious zeal for the religion in which his father had died. He made various ineffective efforts to lighten the lot of the "Non-conformists" (as the Puritans were called), and he was naturally still more anxious to relieve the disabilities of the Catholics, but on these points he met with stubborn resistance. The Church of England party, ultra-loyal in its professions, and controlling his Parliaments, was even more anti-Catholic than it was anti-Puritan; and a large fraction of it presently came to

regard the king's policies with extreme suspicion. Charles was without a legitimate heir, and his successor seemed likely to be **his brother, James, Duke of York**, who with greater courage than Charles was **an avowed Catholic**. The last twelve years of the reign were consumed in an ineffectual attempt to force through Parliament a law excluding James from the succession. Charles permitted the enactment of the **Test Act** (1673) which effectually barred all Catholics from public office;



COSTUMES OF GENTLEMEN  
ABOUT 1673

he permitted the Catholics to be persecuted for pretended plots against his own authority; many innocent men lost their lives without the king risking his position to save them, but he at least stood firm against the attempt to cut off James from the crown. Charles dissolved his last Parliament in 1681, after it



had begun to show the same fiery spirit of its predecessors under his father, and for the last four years of his reign he reigned with quasi absolute authority;<sup>1</sup> and the difficult adjustment of the relations between the Crown and the people was reserved for his successors. In 1685, this handsome, witty, profligate man died, and three years later England underwent her second great revolution.<sup>2</sup>

**185. James II (1685-88): his character and aims.** James II, the second son of Charles I, was decidedly unlike his brother. A clever courtier who knew both well asserted, "Charles *could* do good if he would: James *would* do good if he could!" His private character was by no means of the best, but it was superior to that of Charles II. He is described as a "man of infinite industry and gravity, and great understanding, and of a most sincere and honest nature." He was, however, **utterly narrow-minded, and exceedingly obstinate** in opinions once formed; and he had not the least spark of genius or of the ability to inspire others to do great things in his cause. He was a sincere Catholic, and clung devoutly to his religion at a time when to stand by it seemed likely to cost him the succession. To him the absolute power exercised by his rival, Louis XIV of France, seemed an admirable model for English monarchs harassed by their Parliaments, and to increase the royal prerogative he

<sup>1</sup> By altering town charters, and other unscrupulous means, he was bringing it to pass that any Parliament he might summon would have a majority favorable to him, and willing to legalize any act of tyranny.

<sup>2</sup> Even in this bad reign, circumstances sometimes enabled the enactment of laws which promoted the growth of individual liberty. In 1679 was passed the Habeas Corpus Act. The writ of habeas corpus compels a jailor to produce a prisoner in court, and to show that there is a colorable case against him; — it is therefore a great protection against arbitrary imprisonment. Before the passage of this act, the Crown had been able to put all kinds of legal obstacles to obtaining this writ, and consequently hold prisoners indefinitely, almost "at the king's pleasure."

A tradition sprang up that the act was only carried in the House of Lords by an absurd blunder. One of the tellers for the vote counted a very fat nobleman as *two*, and then declined to admit his jest when he found that the change of one vote would defeat the bill!



strove most earnestly. But his second ambition — to make England again a Catholic nation — was one thing which was sure to awaken enemies who might have endured his measures that were merely political. The Church of England party had made unreserved loyalty to the Crown practically a tenet of religion. When, however, the king they affected to venerate began to try to undermine the very Church which supported him, a disastrous strain was put upon the loyalty of nearly all English Churchmen.

**186. *The first years of James.*** James found his subjects divided into two great parties, parties which have in a certain manner survived to this day. The old Puritans were crushed and silenced, but against the "**High Church**" **Tories**, who advocated the sustaining of the royal prerogatives, and the repression of all but the Church of England religion, were now opposed the **more liberal Whigs**, who favored a more constitutional form of government, and the extension of toleration to the "**Nonconformists.**"<sup>1</sup> The Tories were at this moment predominant; but many great noblemen held Whig principles and the nation at large (so far as it had a voice) was probably with them. James went into his contest counting on the implicit obedience of the Tories, do what he might; and trusted to sheer force to curb the Whigs. Unfortunately he was to discover that the Tories were not to be trusted, and that the Whigs were not helpless.

Early in the reign (1685) the Duke of Monmouth (an illegitimate son of Charles II) raised an insurrection in Dorsetshire: but his undisciplined followers were routed at Sedgemoor:<sup>2</sup> Monmouth perished on the scaffold, and the "**Bloody Assizes,**"

<sup>1</sup> These party names had arisen late in Charles II's reign during the contest in Parliament over the exclusion of James. "Whig" was originally an unfriendly nickname for Scottish Presbyterians, while the first "Tories" were certain Irish outlaws. In each case what had been an epithet of reproach was adopted in the end as an honorable designation.

<sup>2</sup> This was the last battle of consequence to be fought on strictly "English" soil.



presided over by the implacable **Lord Jeffreys**, handed out death to many persons whose guilt was more than doubtful. This easy victory confirmed James in his purpose. He undertook as part of his royal prerogative to "dispense" with the law forbidding Catholics to hold office. Many important military and civil positions were thus filled with his co-religionists. An army of 13,000 men believed to be reliable was assembled to overawe disaffection. As vacancies occurred in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, royal nominees of the Catholic faith were thrust in, despite the plain letter of the law on the side of the "Fellows" of the colleges who had exercised the right of election.

**187. *The case of the seven bishops* (1688).** Many Roman Catholics around James realized that he was carrying things too rapidly and urged moderation, but the headstrong monarch swept on to his downfall. To silence the protests of the cities their charters were annulled. Subservient judges gave decisions confirming the king's pretensions. In 1687, James issued a **Declaration of Indulgence** granting religious liberty alike to the Catholics and the Protestant Nonconformists. He felt obliged to seek the support of the later, and affected to treat them with benignant liberality, but unfortunately these very Nonconformists, successors of the Puritans, if they distrusted the High Church party much, they distrusted the favors of the Catholics more, and stubbornly refused to be cajoled. Many men also, who favored a liberalizing of the obnoxious laws permitting religious persecution, realized that a clear issue was presented. **Could a king — even for a good end — abolish by his mere proclamation a plain statute of Parliament?** If so, his power was practically absolute. The religious issue had thus become a distinctly political one.

In May, 1688, James ordered all the clergy of the Church of England to read the Declaration of Indulgence in their churches. As a class these men had thundered from their



pulpits for nearly a generation that "obedience to the king was among Heaven's first laws"; but at this insulting mandate they balked. Very few churchmen read the Declaration as commanded. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops lodged a respectfully worded protest with the king. "Here are strange words," exclaimed James angrily. "This is a standard of rebellion!" He caused the seven bishops to be flung into the Tower of London and prosecuted for issuing a



THE SEVEN BISHOPS GOING TO THE TOWER

The people of London are wishing them safety. (*From a Dutch book published in 1689*)

"seditious libel." It was the occasion for a great national outpouring. High and low joined in unprecedented demonstrations of sympathy for the bishops.<sup>1</sup> If a respectful petition were "sedition," where were the rights of Englishmen? In June (1688), the bishops were put on trial. All attempts of the crown lawyers to browbeat the jury were in vain. The seven were acquitted amid vast public rejoicing. The affair

<sup>1</sup> A snatch of a song in behalf of Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, has become famous:—

"And shall Trelawney die? And shall Trelawney die?  
Then twenty thousand Cornish lads will know the reason why.



was a clear warning to James to change his policy or lose his crown.

188. "*The Great Revolution*": *the overthrow of James (1688-89)*. James was given no great time for reconsideration. Almost at the time of the trial a son was born to him. Hitherto his subjects had expected him to be succeeded by his daughter Mary, a devout Protestant.<sup>1</sup> Now the prospect of a long line of Catholic princes came to view, and men grew desperate. An appeal was sent secretly by many high nobles to the king's son-in-law, the redoubtable **William of Orange**, to come from Holland with an armed force and deliver the country. After some prudent deliberation, William acted. The prospect of an English crown was, of course, an enticing one, but the controlling motive in his action was very probably a desire to gain the hearty support of England in the life-and-death struggle he was waging on the Continent against the overweening power of Louis XIV. He therefore landed in the west of England (November, 1688) with a considerable army "to secure a free and legal Parliament."

James vainly announced concessions and prepared to fight him; but there was half-heartedness and treason all around the king. Practically no fighting took place. As one adherent after another slunk away, the terrified king tried to flee to France. He was halted and brought back. William found him an awkward prisoner. James could not be put to death, and to keep him permanently in custody would awaken a storm of criticism. William desired nothing more than to have him escape, and James turned out to be his own worst enemy. The direful fate of his father was ever before him; and he evaded his studiously careless guards and safely **escaped to France**, to become the weary guest of Louis XIV.

<sup>1</sup> Mary was now a mature woman, and married to William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, the great foe of Louis XIV. It was honestly doubted at the time whether this son of James was really his child, or some spurious infant introduced to keep up the male succession. In the public state of distrust toward James, any absurdity became credible.



189. *William III and Mary* (1689-1702). The flight of James put the Government in William's hands. He called a "Convention" (summoned in the same manner as a Parliament), which after much deliberation reached a conclusion in which the Whigs and a large proportion of the Tories joined. It was that James, by his unlawful acts and by his quitting the realm, had "abdicated" the throne, and that the crown was to pass to his son-in-law William and his daughter Mary jointly (the actual government, however, being reserved for William). Accompanying this resolution went the famous **Declaration of Rights**, setting forth the limits to royal authority and the privileges of the subjects, and settling many fundamental matters.<sup>1</sup> For practical purposes this **Revolution of 1689** made Parliament rather than the king the final power in England. The royal prerogative was still to be an important factor for over a century, and the enormous **social influence** which a king might exercise was in no wise abated, but the danger that England would imitate France and drift under a strictly personal government was practically at an end. Unspectacular and bloodless though it was, this "Glorious Revolution" forms a milestone in history.

William III was himself a Dutchman, and never felt himself at home among his English subjects; nor was he in turn popular with them. His main interest was in the great war against Louis XIV, who was now earnestly supporting James. In 1690, James seized Ireland with a French army, but William crossed over from England and routed him at the battle of the Boyne, chasing him back to his exile on the Continent. William had his own troubles with his Parliaments, who were very illiberal in voting war supplies; but in 1697, peace was made with France, and the danger of a return of James was greatly

<sup>1</sup> Some of the leading points prohibit the "dispensing with laws," the levying of taxes, or keeping of an army without consent of Parliament; and require the frequent holding of Parliament; and confirm the right of subjects to petition the Crown. Also it is forbidden that any Roman Catholic should sit on the throne.



lessened. In 1701, James died across the seas, and in 1702, William passed away also. To understand his really great achievements, he must be viewed as a figure in Continental no less than in English history.

This reign, however, was not merely one of revolutions and fighting. Thanks to the conditions under which William received his throne, his keen interest in foreign affairs, and the need of conciliating his new English subjects at every turn, his Government saw a **number of great innovations, every one of which made for the supremacy of Parliament or the growth of individual liberty and prosperity.** Some of these "corner-stones" can be stated briefly.

(a) In 1689, a "**Mutiny Act**" gave the Crown the power of holding its army under strict martial discipline. But this act ran only for one year. Every twelvemonth it must be renewed by Parliament. If the king did not convene Parliament, he had not the least legal hold upon his army. To this day the annual renewal of the Mutiny Act is cherished as practically compelling the annual holding of parliaments.

(b) In 1695, lapsed an old law establishing a censorship of the press. It was never renewed. Despite various taxes on cheap newspapers, and a severe law of libel, — which was long to hamper editors and publishers, — here was another great stroke for liberty.

(c) Thanks to the Declaration of Right and other enactments, the control of Parliament upon the taxing powers and expenditures of the Crown became absolute. Between the "votes of supply" and the Mutiny Act, the king was left entirely at the mercy of "his noble Lords and loyal Commons." The days of Charles I and "no Parliaments" were forever at an end.

(d) One of the banes of Stuart days had been the wretched coinage, — badly struck, and subject to unceasing "sweating," "clipping," and counterfeiting. It was a really vital reform,



when, in 1696, the old and often debased money was replaced with a new, honest coinage, with milled edges (to prevent clipping). Such a reform, commonplace as it seems, was perhaps of more value to most people than many pretentious laws, or naval or land victories.

**190. *The reign of Anne: (1702-14) the end of the revolutionary period in England.*** William died without children, and Queen Mary had died before him. His successor (under the "Act of Settlement" of 1701, which controls the rights to the English throne down to this day) was Anne, his wife's younger sister, who had been brought up a Protestant. She was a good-hearted but utterly colorless personage, who took her opinions and her policies mainly from her ministers and the all powerful ladies-in-waiting around her. The greater part of her reign was consumed in the important War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>1</sup> At home the main event was the formal **union of Scotland with England** as the **Kingdom of Great Britain**, — upon terms very favorable to the canny and tenacious Scots. Toward the end of her reign, Anne fell into the hands of Tory ministers, who were intriguing to set aside the laws passed regulating the succession, and to summon her half-brother, the unfortunate son of James II,<sup>2</sup> to succeed her upon the throne, but she died before their schemes could be completed. The Whigs again seized the power, and the Elector of Hanover, the next Protestant heir, was proclaimed as **George I.**

By 1714, England had entered upon a distinctly new era. The religious factor had ceased to be a deciding issue in politics. The events of 1688 had established that the final controlling power was not the king, but the Parliament. The facts that

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xxvi, section 181.

<sup>2</sup> This unlucky prince, "James III," the "King across the Water," as the "Jacobites" (his English partisans) styled him, was destined to live in exile on the Continent till 1766, wearily cherishing hopes that were always disappointed. He was styled by his enemies, "The Old Pretender." His son, Charles Edward, "The Young Pretender," made a last brave but unsuccessful attempt to seize Scotland, as a stepping-stone to England, in 1745-46.



William III was a Dutchman, unfamiliar with English affairs, and that Anne was a somewhat weak and pliable woman, had tended to throw greater responsibility and authority upon their ministers, who in turn were dependent upon the good will of Parliament for their continuance in office.

Thus the way was paved for the "**Cabinet Government**,"<sup>1</sup> which was to become a leading feature in the later English Constitution.<sup>2</sup> Meantime England had, during the seventeenth century, increased greatly in material prosperity. Her commerce had grown by leaps and bounds. She had acquired a fringe of colonies along the Atlantic coast of America, and several islands in the West Indies. Her navy was recognized as the strongest in the world, while internally she was beginning to cease to be a strictly agricultural, and was becoming a great manufacturing, nation.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Nonconformists; Clarendon Code; Test Act; Whig; Tory; Monmouth's Rebellion; Bloody Assizes; the Declarations of Indulgence; the trial of The Seven Bishops; William of Orange; the War of the Spanish Succession; the Treaty of Utrecht; Jacobites.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Sedgmoor; Boyne River.
3. Compare Charles II as a ruler with Cromwell and Louis XIV.
4. In the "Restoration" of the Stuarts, what was restored? How did the Restoration affect the position of the Nonconformists?
5. What circumstances made the treatment of the Catholics more severe under Charles II than it had been under Charles I?
6. What is meant by "royal prerogative"?
7. Make a summary of the steps taken by James to restore Catholicism in England.

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<sup>1</sup> Cabinet Government may be popularly defined as the rule of a body of ministers who are supposed to work as a single unit, and who keep office (or resign), as they keep the favor (or lose it) of the majority of a Parliament. The coterie of Whigs who acted as Anne's ministers (1708), is supposed to have prefigured the later cabinets, although the whole system was not worked out until much later.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter xxxiv.



8. Compare, as to causes and nature and results, the Revolution of 1688 and the Revolution against Charles I.
9. What part did England play, under William III, in the great struggle against Louis XIV?
10. Compare England in 1714 with England in 1603 as regards (a) territory; (b) economic conditions; (c) religious conditions; (d) government. How far were the Stuarts responsible for the changes?

## EXERCISES

1. Was the low standard of morals of Charles's court the exception or the rule among the royal courts of the period?
2. What other Englishmen, at various times, received pensions from foreign rulers?
3. The Secret Treaty of Dover. In what relations did this put Charles II to Louis XIV?
4. The Plague, and the Great Fire of London.
5. The confiscation of the borough charters. Show how this would make it possible for Charles to be absolute.
6. Whigs and Tories and the beginnings of political parties.
7. Why did the Nonconformists refuse to accept the Declarations of Indulgence of Charles II and James II.
8. The relations with Scotland under William and Mary. Glencoe.
9. The Mutiny Bill.
10. The Act of Settlement.
11. The Junto.
12. The Bank of England and the National Debt.
13. The relations between William III and Parliament.
14. The Union with Scotland.
15. The Duchess of Marlborough, and the Whigs.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 324-31.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 394-405. Gibbins: pp. 138-42; 144-45.  
Any English history (Ransome, pp. 613-734).



## CHAPTER XXVIII

### THE GROWTH OF RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA

**191. *Early Russia.*** Late in the seventeenth century a new Christian Power began to thrust itself upon the attentions of Europe. The vast "Czardom of Muscovy" had for a long time been known to exist to the east of Poland and Finland, but Russia had never been taken seriously as a nation formidable either in peace or war. Russia (despite many centuries of history) is among the latest of the European peoples to emerge into the light of civilization: indeed, in its great rural districts this mighty Empire is hardly civilized yet; and in this fact lies the explanation of many problems in present-day Russia. Nevertheless, since 1650, the Russian Empire has made tremendous strides, and it is to-day one of the most important factors in the world's war and diplomacy.

The barbarous and pagan **Slavic tribes** which inhabit the great steppes of eastern Europe gained their first tincture of civilization by contact with the Eastern Empire. In 865, the "Russians" made a formidable attack on Constantinople, which was with difficulty repelled. Later dealings with the Eastern Emperors were more friendly. Commerce sprang up; envoys were exchanged between the Emperors and the northern princes; and missionaries of the Eastern Church converted the Russians to the Greek type of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> This civilization of "Old Russia" was at its height when **the land was overrun by the terrible Tartar hordes** (thirteenth century), who long held the native princes and people in vassalage. Only gradu-

<sup>1</sup> To this day the Russians, of course, persist in being Orthodox (Greek) Christians as against the Western Catholics and Protestants. The Russian alphabet is based upon the Greek — another result of contact with Constantinople.



ally, after two centuries of disastrous oppression, was the grip of the savage grand khans of the "Golden Horde" relaxed, and the Tartars driven back to their wilds in Asia (1480). But this period of bondage at least aided in upbuilding Russian unity. The petty local dynasties were mostly overthrown. In their place was left only one important ruler, the "**Grand Prince of Moscow**"; and life under Asiatic despots had taught the Russians implicit obedience to a master. The Princes of Moscow exercised an absolute rule over their subjects, such as no Western sovereigns had ever even claimed. The fall of Constantinople before the Turks (1453) carried with it the loss of any claim of the original Greek Church to exercise ecclesiastical authority over its fellow believers in Russia; and the Russian Church had never acknowledged the leadership of the Pope. As a result the rulers of Moscow possessed a control over church as well as civil affairs, which increased their total authority immensely. They were tyrants over their subjects alike for their bodies and for their souls.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this great monarchy upon the steppes was consolidating and strengthening its grip over the often-turbulent boyars (nobles), and fighting off its encroaching neighbors. In 1547, the Prince **Ivan IV**, whose surname, "the Terrible," grimly describes his cruel yet masterful character, **took the title of "Czar"**<sup>1</sup> as a token of absolute and imperial sovereignty. From this time onward we may speak of the "Empire of Russia."

More than a century elapsed after this event before the czars were able to make themselves felt in the West. They were really tyrants of the Oriental type, ruling over a people nominally Christian in religion, but exceedingly barbarous in customs. They were almost isolated from civilized nations.

<sup>1</sup> This title is often said to have been derived from "Cæsar," but various scholars think it derived from an Asiatic word denoting the holder of supreme authority. Possibly it is akin to "shah." "Tsar" is a variant and possibly more correct spelling in English.



On the south, their way to the Black Sea was practically barred by the Turks. On the west, they collided with the ill-organized



RUSSIA IN 1725

but then formidable Kingdom of Poland. Finland and most of the Baltic lands were held by the Swedes. Only on the White Sea of the Far North could the "Autocrat of all the Russias,"



lord of so many leagues of plainland, and of so many myriads of fierce horsemen, find salt water which he could call his own. Here, indeed, the Arctic winter cut off navigation for many months, but a precarious trade in furs was springing up with England. In 1689, however, there came to the throne the ruler who changed Russia from a long stretch of semi-barbarous lands into a mighty nation.

**192. *Peter the Great* (1689-1725).** Peter the Great ranks among the most intelligent despots of history. If any race could have been lifted from barbarism to civilization by a series of imperial edicts ruthlessly enforced, the Russians would have been changed beyond recognition. It is a testimony to Peter's abilities that, though his methods were those of the remorseless sultan, he was really able to accomplish so much. His chief merit was that **he recognized clearly the great superiority of the Western Europeans over the Russians**, and undertook to introduce Western arts and habits into all phases of Russian life. Early in his reign he visited Holland and England. In Holland the tale runs that he worked for a brief time as a common shipwright in a shipyard, so determined was he to give Russia a navy. From England he took away nearly five hundred engineers, ship-carpenters, skilled artisans, artillerymen, and surgeons, to execute his great building projects and to teach his people. He set up printing-presses, caused translations of foreign books to be made, and took measures for the education of at least the upper classes among his hitherto almost illiterate countrymen. These works of peace he supplemented by warfare, in which, though by no means always victorious, he won for Russia the status of a great power.

**193. *Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden.*** Sweden was still (thanks to her victories in the Thirty Years' War) counted a great military power. She had a brilliant and aggressive king, **Charles XII**, considered to be one of the first





## PETER THE GREAT

Czar of Russia (1689-1725)

Born 1672

Died 1725







captains of his age.<sup>1</sup> The possession of the Swedish lands along the Baltic was absolutely essential to Peter if Russia was not to be hemmed in forever from the sea — and the sea meant for her commerce, new ideas, national life. In his first battles Peter learned his shortcomings as a general and the weakness of his ill-disciplined Cossacks before the veteran Swedes. At **Narva (1700)**, Charles won a brilliant victory, but he made ill use of it. Peter reorganized his army, and seized some sea-coast at the mouth of the river Neva. Here, in 1703, **the czar founded a new capital city, St. Petersburg,**<sup>2</sup> to be the home of his reorganized government. When Charles invaded Russia a second time, he was utterly defeated at **Poltava (1709)**. The military prestige of Sweden was blasted, and Russia was recognized as a mighty power. When peace was at length made (1721), Russia gained nearly all the Swedish Baltic lands, with the exception of Finland.

Peter died in 1725, aged only fifty-three. **He had completely reorganized the government of his country**, giving it all the machinery for a centralized, well-articulated despotism, instead of a blundering, semi-feudal tyranny. He had enforced the habits of Western civilization upon his courtiers and nobility. The serfs (the vast bulk of the population) continued in their Oriental degradation without even a veneer of European culture.

Peter's successors continued his policy, more or less successfully according to their abilities, through the eighteenth century. The most famous of these rulers was Catherine II

<sup>1</sup> Charles XII was a magnificent field officer. Had he been as excellent in planning a campaign as in actually fighting a battle, he would be ranked with Hannibal or Napoleon.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian name is simply Petersburg. The "Saint" has been added by Western usage. Czar Peter was very far from deserving sainthood. He was brutal in his personal pleasures and ferocious in his punishments. With his own hands he would sometimes behead criminals by way of diversion. So far is it possible for the same person to be a beneficent sovereign, yet a most despicable man!



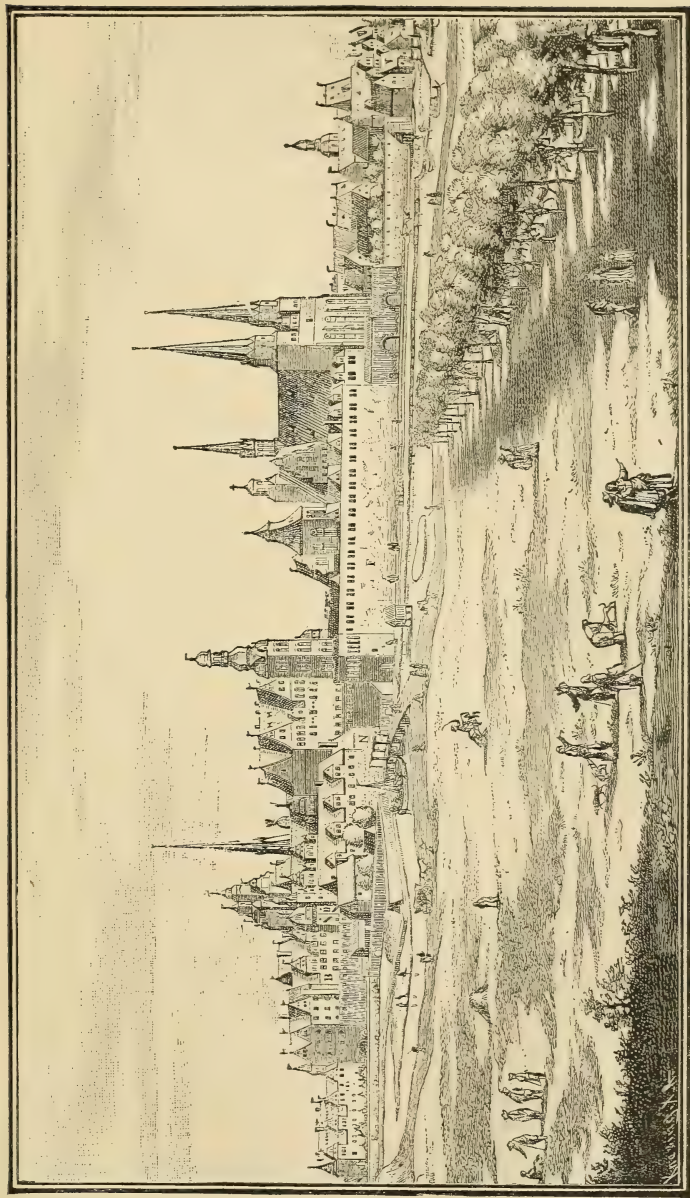
(1762-96), a profligate but exceedingly energetic woman, who sent her armies victoriously against the Turks, and joined with Austria and Prussia in dividing unhappy Poland. By 1800, all the world recognized Russia as a tremendous military power. It was to take nearly a hundred years more before she had an accepted place in the realms of music, literature, and art.<sup>1</sup>

**194. *The Electorate of Brandenburg.*** While a great imperial state was arising in the East, — in Europe and yet charged with the temperament and institutions of Asia, — there was struggling into prominence another much smaller state, which was destined to reanimate the old nation of Germany, and rescue it from the fearful exhaustion and stagnation in which it had been left after the terrible Thirty Years' War. This state was **Brandenburg, which became the nucleus of the later "Kingdom of Prussia."** Very humble were its beginnings, yet the glory of modern Germany was wrapped up in this obscure principality.

In 1648, the Electorate of Brandenburg seemed to represent one of the poorest and least progressive states in the all but dissolved "Holy Roman Empire." Its rulers of the Hohenzollern dynasty had obtained the land in the fifteenth century, and in Luther's day had become Protestants. Their territories were ill-compacted, unfertile, and sparsely populated. There were few sizable cities, and little commerce and industry. The inhabitants were mostly unkempt, oafish peasants inhabiting the sandy plain lands, or brave but stupid and inactive petty nobles (*Junkers*), who in their boorish fox-hunting traits greatly resembled the English country "squires." The **Hohenzollern dynasty** of electors had done little to distinguish itself since gaining power, and yet in some respects progress had been made. The Hohenzollerns had never wasted their power upon distant and chimerical military enterprises; their

<sup>1</sup> "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar," Napoleon is said to have remarked.





#### VIEW OF BERLIN

Capital of the Electors of Brandenburg, 1650. For a long while Berlin was a badly built, insignificant city



lands had emerged from the Thirty Years' War rather less ravaged than were many other quarters of Germany; and they had **annexed the Duchy of Prussia**. This large vassal state of Poland had been ruled before the Reformation by the "Grand Master" of the Knights of the Teutonic Order.<sup>1</sup> In 1525, the Grand Master had accepted Protestantism and taken the title of "Duke." In 1618, the last Duke of Prussia died, and his dominions went to his kinsman, the Elector of Brandenburg. Prussia and Brandenburg were by no means contiguous, — a great piece of Poland intervened. Still, in the aggregate the Hohenzollerns ruled a considerable state. In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia gave them the Duchy of Eastern Pomerania. They had also several scattered "enclaves" elsewhere in North Germany.<sup>2</sup> These heterogeneous lands were now to fall into the power of a great statesman who was to organize them into a formidable monarchy.

**195. *The Great Elector, Frederick William* (1640–88).**

Frederick William personally was a coarse-grained man, despotic and none too scrupulous; but he ruled a people accustomed to arbitrary government, and the age was not one of nice measures. The great bane of his electorate was the multiplicity of local divisions. There were numerous local "estates," — assemblies of petty nobles, ignorant, tenacious of their privileges, and grinding tyrants over their peasantry. The whole administration of the country was exceedingly weak and inefficient. Frederick William curtailed the power of the estates as much as he dared, and set up a central privy council, to which his ministers and all his provincial governors belonged — thus giving the ill-assorted Hohenzollern realm a semblance of unity. The taxation system was revised skillfully, so as to increase the elector's revenues without increasing the burdens

<sup>1</sup> A military-religious brotherhood, established, like the Templars and Hospitallers, at the time of the crusades.

<sup>2</sup> An "enclave" was a small German territory belonging to one state, but entirely surrounded by the territories of other states.



of the subjects. In short, Frederick William took a long step toward **abolishing mediæval political conditions** and substituting an orderly "modern" government.<sup>1</sup>

The Great Elector realized that if he were to obtain a great revenue from his lands his people must be enriched. With German thoroughness and Hohenzollern common sense and tenacity, he set himself to building up the industries and commerce of his subjects. Every effort was made to encourage scientific agriculture. Louis XIV was driving the Huguenots from his dominions by his persecutions. Frederick William (a zealous Protestant) promoted their settlement in Brandenburg. The French immigrants were skilled artisans and agriculturalists; some twenty thousand of them brought the Great Elector and his people precisely the assistance and example whereof they were in need. Louis had little recked that, in banishing the Huguenots from France, he was advancing the prosperity of the nation that was to prove his country's most dangerous rival.

One thing more Frederick William did for his land. **He organized a truly efficient army.** He was able to play a very respectable part in the wars of the later seventeenth century, usually in one of the alliances against Louis XIV. In 1675, he won a notable victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin.<sup>2</sup> Henceforth Brandenburg was something more than a "state" of Germany; it had to be reckoned upon as a rising and substantially independent monarchy to be courted and feared.

**196. Brandenburg becomes the Kingdom of Prussia.** Frederick William was succeeded by his son Frederick, a personage by no means equal to his father in ability. He was a showy, extravagant man, who squandered his revenues upon

<sup>1</sup> Of course, much was left entirely untouched; e.g., down to Napoleon's day the peasantry of Brandenburg-Prussia were downright serfs.

<sup>2</sup> The Swedes were led by Charles XI, the father of Charles XII: this was almost the first great battle lost by the Swedes since Gustavus's day, except when overwhelmed by numbers.



a tawdry court which ill became the ruler of so poor a country. He was not the less ambitious, however. The "electoral cap" of Brandenburg seemed too mean for the lord of such extensive dominions. In 1701, the "Holy Roman Emperor," being in sore need of his help against France, consented that he should be **crowned at Königsberg** as "King in Prussia."<sup>1</sup> The new king was not very cheerfully received by his fellow monarchs. The Pope protested angrily at the erection of another Protestant



BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA, 1740-86

kingdom. Frederick, however, — "**Frederick I,**" as he now proudly styled himself, — was vastly pleased with his new honor. For a while it was a penal offense for one of his subjects forgetfully to drink the health of "the Elector of Brandenburg." In 1713, this vainglorious reign ended.

**197. Frederick William I (1713-40).** Frederick's son was a truly great king, yet after a petty, obstinate, picturesque man-

<sup>1</sup> It was some time later that the title was changed to "King of Prussia." The idea, of course, was that Frederick was still only "elector" in Brandenburg, part of the "Empire." Prussia, however, lay outside of it.



ner of his own. His father had made the new kingdom almost a laughing-stock by his extravagance and vanity. Frederick William I won back the prestige of the Great Elector, and added to it. In a despotically governed country the character of the ruler is everything, and the king was almost exactly what the unprogressive land demanded. He was stern, blunt, and practical. He was economical down to stinginess, and maintained a most unpretentious court. He was strictly pious after the stiff fashion of the Lutheran theology of his day, and had a rigid sense of justice. In all the realm there was no harder worker than this crabbed, ill-dressed little man who seemed resolved to make his subjects happy and prosperous, if he had to cuff and cudgel them into a state to enjoy their good fortune. That his people were entitled to any liberty never entered his head. "Salvation belongs to the Lord: everything else is my business," he once asserted.

The story of his reign contains few outwardly striking events. Fortunately it was a period when there were few great wars, and Frederick William I had too much common sense to invite them. He devoted himself to perfecting the machinery of the administration, until Prussia was ruled by a magnificent bureaucracy (official wheels within wheels), such as was boasted by no other Government in the world. **The king strove diligently to foster agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.** But his real delight was in **fattening his treasury** (he left nearly \$6,750,000 behind him),<sup>1</sup> and **strengthening his army**, of which he was so proud that it was said that he dared not engage in war lest he lose some of his darling grenadiers. He turned over to his son Frederick II<sup>2</sup> (later called "the Great") 80,000 men

<sup>1</sup> A very large sum, considering the relative poverty of Prussia and the large purchasing power of money in those days. Frederick William I had such a mania for economy that he spent only 50,000 thalers (= \$34,000) per year upon himself and his court — a beggarly allowance for a king!

<sup>2</sup> Whom Frederick William had treated (when a lad) with an austerity and downright brutality which forms a famous chapter in the personal history of the Hohenzollerns.



admirably drilled and fit for any service. This made Prussia the fourth military state of Europe; and Frederick II did not let his father's brigadiers grow gray without service.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Tartars; Ivan the Terrible; Peter the Great; Charles XII; Catherine II; Prussia; the Great Elector; "King in Prussia."
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Narva; St. Petersburg; Poltava; Moscow; Königsberg; Berlin.
  - (b) Mark Russian territory in 1689.
  - (c) Mark the lands added to Russia by Peter.
  - (d) Mark the Hohenzollern lands in 1648.
3. How did the Tartar supremacy affect Russian civilization?
4. What conditions gave rise to the absolutism of the Russian czars.
5. The work of Peter the Great in giving European civilization to Russia.
6. What is the significance of the statement attributed to Napoleon (p. 340, note)?
7. The condition of Brandenburg in 1648.
8. The work of the Great Elector.
9. What were the conditions in Europe in 1701 which made the Emperor consent to the creation of a kingdom in Prussia?
10. What did Frederick William I do to advance the political and economic prosperity of Prussia?

### EXERCISES

1. What was the "Golden Horde"?
2. Ivan the Terrible.
3. Trade with Russia before 1689.
5. Manners and customs among the Russians at the time of the accession of Peter the Great. How far did Peter change them? By what methods?
6. Charles XII of Sweden.
7. The expansion of Russia (1689-1795).
8. The character and work of the Great Elector.
9. Whose example did Frederick I of Prussia follow in the extravagance of his court and capital?
10. The army of Frederick William I.
11. Compare Prussia in 1740 with the other German states, in regard to economic and political conditions.



## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 346-52, 354-59a.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: *Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 3-28. Bé-  
mont and Monod: pp. 472-74. Lewis: pp. 477-94. Lodge: chapter XII,  
sections 13-22; XIV, XVII, XVIII, sections 25-27. Pattison: pp. 330-33.  
Robinson and Beard: vol. I, pp. 50-60.



## CHAPTER XXIX

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

198. *The character of the age.* The passing of Louis XIV (1715) removed the most remarkable figure in Europe. He had played for great stakes; and he had lost. Not till Napoleon's day was France again to threaten to devour all the rest of Western civilization. In Louis XIV, absolute monarchy by "divine right" had reached its climax. He was the incarnation of its best features and the demonstration of its worst. Slowly the reaction was to set in, leading to a reassertion of the rights of that thing called "the people," not merely to be well governed, but to govern itself. This period of slow reaction extended till 1789, and is ordinarily described as **the "eighteenth century,"** although it lacked twenty-six years of the completed cycle. During this time monarchs continue to rule despotically: in continental Europe the subject-classes are without any efficient constitutional protection, or any real share in the Government. New intellectual and scientific forces, however, are at work.<sup>1</sup> **The absolute monarchs find themselves under keen criticism.** They attempt many well-meant if superficial reforms. A new spirit is in the air. The gradual simplifying of genteel dress — the abandoning of the absurd ruffs and flowing wigs of the seventeenth century — is a trifling outward manifestation that we are approaching a more genuine, a less artificial age. Wars are, on the whole, less frequent. They are still waged mainly to gratify the selfish ambition of sovereigns, and cause a vast deal of needless misery and bloodshed: but as a rule there is some semblance of national as well as merely dynastic advantage kept in view.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xxxi, "The Causes of the French Revolution."



The separate events of this "eighteenth century" do not need very minute treatment, but it is necessary to have a clear idea of several of the leading royal actors.

**199. Louis XV (1715-74) and Madame de Pompadour.** France was still, despite the magnificent failure of Louis XIV, unquestionably the first power of Europe;<sup>1</sup> but Louis XV was a very unworthy successor of his mighty great-grandfather. He was a mere child when his reign nominally began, and for eight years the ruler of France was the clever **Duke of Orléans**, a man of profligate life but no mean ability. In 1723, Louis XV assumed the personal government, but he seldom busied himself with the hard work of administration. His ministers were sometimes capable men. Up to 1741, France was most of the time at peace and tolerably well governed. After that date disastrous wars set in, from which the French reaped no profit from their victories, and sheer dishonor by their unnecessary defeats.

The life of Louis XV was **one long round of idle, vicious frivolity**, wherein the accumulated loyalty of the French nation to the throne was wantonly frittered away. The king was too indolent and dissipated to play the tyrant, yet some of his ministers did, and at times the misgovernment of France was frightful. It was a terrible setback to "the first monarchy of Christendom" that for fifty-nine years the "first gentleman of Europe" (so the French king was styled) was a man of utterly vicious life; far more



A FRENCH SECRETARY OF STATE, ABOUT 1720

Note that while the wig and costume are still elaborate, they are less absurd than were the sixteenth-century costumes. (*After a drawing by d'Ulin*)

<sup>1</sup> The English navy, of course, was first on the seas, but England never claimed to compete with France as a land power.



important than Louis's queen, a weak Polish princess, was his mistress, the beautiful, witty, selfish, worthless Marquise de Pompadour. Her "reign" extended from 1745 to 1764. During that time she controlled the king utterly, and, through



COSTUME OF A  
GENTLEMAN,  
ABOUT 1770

Note that the wig is smaller than in 1720, and the dress simpler. A snuffbox and a walking-sword were still essential parts of a masculine outfit. (From an engraving by Moreau le Jeune)

him, the State. Ministers were appointed and dismissed, wars were declared and ended, at the bidding of a profligate and selfish woman who had not the slightest conception of the interests of France. After her death the king found a second favorite, Madame du Barry, upon whom he was able to squander 180,000,000 livres (say \$36,000,000)<sup>1</sup> in five years, and this while the finances of France were declining in ever-increasing disorder.

In 1774, Louis XV sank unwept to the grave. Despite his personal profligacy he did not fail to realize the evil state of France. "**This will last through my time**"; he said cynically, commenting on the rotten condition of his Government. All his life he had been sowing the wind. His unlucky successor was to reap the whirlwind.

#### 200. *Maria Theresa of Austria* (1740-80).

Far nobler than this degenerate scion of the great French line was the woman who occupied for many years the rival throne of the Hapsburgs.

In 1740, the "Holy Roman Emperor," Charles VI, diéd, leaving by a "**Pragmatic Sanction**"<sup>2</sup> all hereditary lands to his only child, his daughter, **Maria Theresa**. Thanks to the fact that it was alleged that a woman could not inherit the Austrian lands of the Hapsburgs, greedy pretenders appeared. Maria

<sup>1</sup> Really a great deal more, for the purchasing power of money was still much greater in the eighteenth century than at present.

<sup>2</sup> An especially solemn bequest bestowing the succession to the monarchy.



Theresa for a little while seemed forced to fight half of Europe; but she rose to the occasion magnificently, though at first her armies were disorganized, her lands nigh overrun. "Let us die for our **King**, Maria Theresa!" cried the Hungarian magnates, when the high-souled lady appealed to them to defend her cause and that of her infant son, Joseph (II). Her claims were presently vindicated. Her husband, Francis of Lorraine, was recognized as Emperor. During a long life she ruled over her heterogeneous dominions with masculine energy and tireless industry. The reforms she introduced increased her subjects' wealth, and the present-day power of Austria rests very largely upon her successful administration. To the north of her, however, lay an enemy who had taken advantage of her early necessities, and whom she never really forgave — Frederick II of Prussia.

201. *Frederick the Great* (1740–86). Frederick II of Prussia, justly styled "the Great," is the most important figure in European history between Louis XIV and Napoleon. He inherited from his crabbed but capable father a small realm, but a full treasury and a powerful army. He strove all his life long to advance the interests of Prussia as he conceived them. "Men have granted preëminence [he wrote] to one of their equals [the king] in the expectation that he should do them certain services." "Monarchs are not invested with authority that they may riot in voluptuousness." "Monarchs are only the first servants of the State." No man in Prussia ever toiled harder than Frederick at his mighty task. His actions were often arbitrary, even tyrannical, but he seems throughout to have believed that he was acting for the public good. He was without confidence in the ability of the masses to govern themselves, and was never anything but a despot, yet he was an "enlightened despot" in the best sense of the term. "Nothing by the people — everything for the people" was, in short, the keynote of his policy.



A large part of his reign was spent in wars which left Prussia exhausted and desolate. Very skillfully he devoted himself to the task of recuperation: fostering mechanic arts and commerce, and ordering his finances with that **North German scientific thoroughness** which has done so much to build the greatness of modern Germany. In his foreign relations Frederick appears less admirable. He was frequently charged with treachery, selfishness, and double-dealing in his diplomacy and wars, nor can the accusations be refuted. His only excuse can be that Prussia was as yet barely recognized as a kingdom, and that during much of his reign he was really fighting for life.

Personally he appears as a bountiful but eccentric patron of art and literature, who was very tolerant of religious skepticism.<sup>1</sup> His best amusement was writing bad French verses, or squeaking out bad music upon his flute, after a day of hard campaigning or office work. His court was simple: his private life, pure. The Prussians do well to hold "**our Fritz**" (as they called him) in affectionate remembrance.

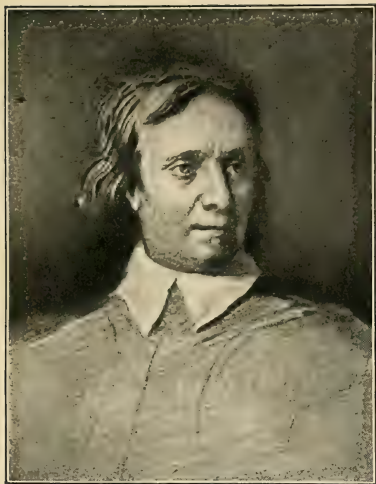
**202. *The wars of Frederick the Great.*** Frederick the Great was involved in two prolonged wars which racked all Europe. In the first (1740-48)<sup>2</sup> he threw himself on the Hapsburg lands, in alliance with France and Bavaria, and wrested from the gallant Maria Theresa the province of Silesia.<sup>3</sup> The Austrians were compelled to make peace, leaving him the disputed territory. In this war he displayed to Europe the magnificent fighting efficiency of the new Prussian army created by Frederick William I, and also the fact that Frederick himself

<sup>1</sup> Frederick was himself an agnostic, although he never took any official measures against Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick did not participate in the struggle after 1745, but France continued the war.

<sup>3</sup> There were some old outstanding Prussian claims on Silesia, but it is very doubtful if they could be considered for a moment by a modern court of arbitration. The seizure of Silesia was really an arbitrary act of spoliation in the selfish interests of Frederick.

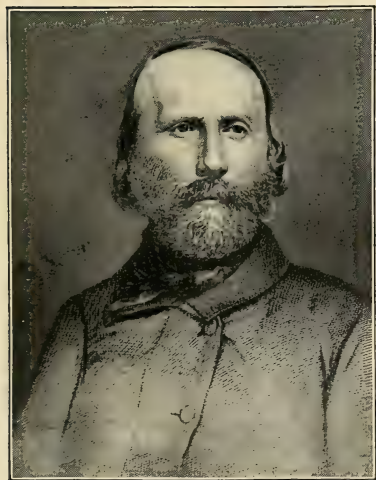




**OLIVER CROMWELL**  
 Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of  
 England (1653-58)  
 Born 1599      Died 1658



**FREDERICK THE GREAT**  
 King of Prussia (1740-86)  
 Born 1712      Died 1786



**GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI**  
 Italian patriot  
 Born 1807      Died 1882



**HORATIO NELSON**  
 English admiral  
 Born 1758      Died 1805

**CONQUERORS IN BATTLE**







was a general of astonishing ability without a real peer in his age.<sup>1</sup>

This first war, the **War of the Austrian Succession**, as it is familiarly called, did not end in an abiding peace. Maria Theresa never forgot her loss. She drew near to the old enemy of Austria, France. She even condescended to send a friendly letter to Madame de Pompadour. The Empress Elizabeth of Russia joined the coalition.<sup>2</sup> The famous "**Seven Years' War**" followed (1756-63). The allies aimed to break up the Prussian dominions; perhaps to reduce their ruler to a mere Elector of Brandenburg. With only the semi-effective alliance of England,<sup>3</sup> Frederick and his small poor kingdom had to fight almost the whole of embattled Europe.

Against these odds Frederick made one of the most gallant fights in all history. With dwindling regiments and depleted resources, he still fought on, when all seemed blackest: taking advantage of his enemies' mistakes; firing his officers and men with a noble courage and enthusiasm. The most famous battle of the war was **Rosbach** (in Saxony, 1757), when Frederick, with only 20,000 men, routed 50,000 French and Austrians, proclaiming to the world the superiority of a disciplined army led by a scientific tactician over an ill-conditioned army, the officers whereof had been court favorites appointed mainly by Madame de Pompadour. The French were not merely beaten. They were disgracefully routed: and the disaster was in effect a warning that France was no longer a really

<sup>1</sup> It is not quite fair to put Frederick in the class of Napoleon or Alexander, but he certainly was the equal of Gustavus Adolphus or Marlborough.

<sup>2</sup> Personal spite, perhaps, played a part in forming this coalition. Frederick had a sharp tongue, and he is alleged to have remarked that "three old cats were governing Europe." The "cats" were Maria Theresa, Elizabeth, and Madame de Pompadour!

<sup>3</sup> The English could supply considerable money to him, but their military help was not very effective. In 1761, upon the downfall of the English war-minister, William Pitt, the English withdrew their help in no very creditable manner, and left him in the lurch.



formidable power as long as she remained under her old corrupt rulers.<sup>1</sup>

In 1763, the three great Powers of Europe were themselves exhausted and were forced to confess that their attempt to crush Prussia had failed.<sup>2</sup> A long peace followed for Frederick. His position in Europe had now been sufficiently vindicated. Prussia was alike respected and dreaded. The great king could devote his remaining years to more peaceful projects for strengthening his dominions.

**203. Joseph II of Austria (1780-90 "Emperor," 1765-90), the crowned idealist.** Maria Theresa was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Joseph, who was a great admirer of Frederick, and who had been caught in the scientific philosophical movement of the times. He was a restless innovator, and strove with furious zeal to reorganize his very scattered realms along the lines of "enlightenment and reason." Unfortunately, although boasting himself as everywhere "guided by philosophy," he showed a most unwise tendency to try to **reform almost everything at once**. In his scattered provinces were vast numbers of old abuses, vested interests, and local privileges. These he strove to sweep away almost at a stroke, and to organize the Hapsburg lands into a highly centralized monarchy. The storm which his unwise improvements awoke was tremendous. In the midst of it, he endeavored also to alter the organization of the Church: especially he abolished six hundred monasteries.<sup>3</sup> New elements of opposition, of course, arose;

<sup>1</sup> As a mere military achievement the battle of Leuthen (1757), when Frederick, with 30,000 men, routed 90,000 Austrians, was even more remarkable. Napoleon said that this one victory was enough to give Frederick "rank among the greatest generals."

<sup>2</sup> For a long while Frederick's fortunes had appeared so desperate that he is said to have carried poison upon his person, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies. In this great war he lost several battles and made serious blunders, but redeemed all by his indomitable courage and energy.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph claimed to be a good Catholic, but he had reached the conclusion that monasticism was a pernicious institution. "The principles of monasticism,"



and finally the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) rose in revolt (1789). Before they could be subdued, Joseph II died, sadly disappointed; a man who had striven earnestly for the weal of his people, but who could never learn that in the alteration of time-honored institutions the mass of men are less easily driven than led.

**204. *The division of Poland* (1772–95).** The last decade of the eighteenth century saw the territorial extinction of a proud



THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

nation — Poland. Chivalrous, brave, artistic, gifted, as many Poles have been, as a people their history proves them of slight political capacity. The annals of Poland seem one dreary

he wrote, “are in flat contradiction to human reason.” He reduced the number of monastic persons in his dominions from 63,000 to 27,000.



catalogue of bitter dissensions and civil wars without any real guiding principle. The huge land was very ill-compacted. The turbulent nobles were hopelessly disunited when it came to any common effort. The kingship was elective. The death of one sovereign was followed by a tumultuous assembly of the nobles,<sup>1</sup> to elect another, — usually an ambitious foreigner who only kept his “throne” by being consistently feeble and pliant in his policy. In all things the weak king must be guided by the Diet, to which went the representatives of the nobility. At this Diet one negative vote defeated any proposition (the so-called “**Free Veto**”). Such an absurd proviso put a premium on inaction. The average Diet would break up without dealing with the most necessary matters.

In 1772, the trump of doom sounded for this unfortunate country. Alleging various disorders as pretexts, Catherine II of Russia and Frederick the Great deliberately undertook to tear away portions of Poland “in the interest of civilization.”<sup>2</sup> Maria Theresa at first protested, but, unable to deter her rivals, joined in seeking her share also. The wretched Poles, forsaken by Europe, were obliged to submit to the seizure of a large fraction of their territory. Vainly in their remaining lands they strove to reorganize their Government and introduce an enlightened and efficient régime. The three avaricious monarchies were not seeking better government for their neighbors, but excuses for intervention. In 1793 came the “Second Division,” more territory seized by Prussia and Russia — Austria for

<sup>1</sup> The Polish nobles held their peasantry in such subjection that they were helpless slaves, rather than serfs. The towns were relatively few and small, and there was no intelligent burgher class to be a saving leaven in the nation. The peasantry took no interest in a government controlled solely by the nobles, and would not sacrifice much to defend it.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick could at least allege the need of securing a strip of land to connect Prussia (proper) with the rest of his dominions. It cannot be denied that the misgovernment in Poland was extreme.

Maria Theresa was sorely piqued at the dishonorable part of Austria in the transaction. “Our measures,” wrote she, “are such that *even the King of Prussia* can accuse us of falseness!” — Frederick was Maria’s chief aversion.



once getting no share. In 1795 came the "Third Division" (Austria also participating). Despite a despairing resistance, led by the brave Kosciuszko, the **extinction of Poland seemed now complete**. The whole land was divided among the conquerors. The destruction of Poland was practically the last act of the old-line monarchies of Europe. By 1795, they were already face to face with Revolutionary France.

**205. Louis XVI (1774-92) and the last years of the Old Régime in France.** Louis XV was succeeded in France by his grandson, **Louis XVI**. He was a notable improvement upon the debauchee before him. In happier days he would have been an adequate, although not a great, king. His private life was pure. He was a faithful husband and a kind father. But he was a man without marked public qualities. He was not a coward physically, but he was exceedingly timid in speech and action, always inclining to the side of weakness and non-action. He was also **a homely, dull, unimaginative man, incapable of arousing high enthusiasm**. Worst of all, he was very open to the influence of those around him — especially to the influence of his queen.

**Marie Antoinette** (daughter of Maria Theresa) was a beautiful, high-spirited, but somewhat frivolous, woman who easily controlled her vacillating husband. She, no less than Louis, wished well for France, and desired the happiness of the people; but neither of this unfortunate couple could take any large view of the need of a thorough reformation of the entire Government. Marie Antoinette drew back at any measure which seemed to affect her own whimsies and the selfish interests of her favorites in the court circle. The weal of France was treated as a matter of personal caprice and convenience.

In 1778, Louis went to war with England in behalf of the revolting Americans. The war ended (1783) with victory for America and for France; but Louis gained little benefit. The disordered finances of his kingdom were more strained than



ever; and the example of American "freedom" was a bad one for his restless subjects. Already he had shown himself a weak ruler. In 1776, **he had dismissed his great minister, Turgot** (a real statesman with a great scheme for reform), merely because of the hue and cry raised against him by selfish courtiers. For the next thirteen years he had blundered inconsistently from one adviser to another; the state of his treasury and the discontent of his subjects ever growing worse. In 1789 began the French Revolution.

206. *The "balance of Power in Europe."* We must remark upon one special factor which had developed in the age of Louis XIV and the ensuing eighteenth century — the "Balance of Power in Europe." It had become a cardinal principle in the chancelleries of the great monarchies, that **no one country must be allowed to become too strong**, whatever be the cost of checking it. Thus practically all the rest of Europe had forgotten its old feuds to unite against the overweening power of Louis XIV, and in the eighteenth century we find repeatedly great coalitions formed to head off the growth of this or that Power, or failing that to secure "compensations" by corresponding additions to all its jealous neighbors. So various small countries, e.g., Venice, were kept alive because none of the "Great Powers" could endure to see their rivals expanding by seizing their weaker neighbors, and, on the other hand, the sudden claims of new "Great Powers" (especially Prussia and Russia) for equality in all arrangements with the old "Great Powers" (England, Austria, France, — and now dwindling into weakness, Holland and Spain) were regarded with suspicious jealousy, and were always disconcerting.

About 1770, this system seemed very well worked out. Europe might be regarded as in an informal confederacy, ready to beat down any attempt of any of its members at extreme aggrandizement. It was an artificial and unworkable arrange-



ment, however. First the rift came when the three eastern "Great Powers" took advantage of the weakness of France to begin the partition of Poland. Soon after came the wars of the French Revolution. Then the only question speedily was this,—**how prevent the absorption of all Europe by France?**

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* —Madame de Pompadour; Madame du Barry; the Pragmatic Sanction; "Enlightened Despot"; War of the Austrian Succession; Seven Years' War; Joseph II; the Free Veto; Kosciuszko; Marie Antoinette; Turgot; the Old Régime; "Balance of Power."
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Rossbach; Leuthen; Aix-la-Chapelle.
  - (b) Mark the European countries in 1715.
  - (c) Mark the additions to Prussian territory made by Frederick the Great.
  - (d) Mark the "Partitions" of Poland.
3. Compare Louis XIV and Louis XV, as to character, and influence upon the welfare of France.
4. The character of Frederick the Great. Compare him with the earlier Hohenzollerns, with Louis XIV, and with Peter the Great.
5. How did the rise of Prussia to power affect the traditional relations of the other European states to each other?
6. What conditions in his lands made it impossible for Joseph II to carry out his ideas?
7. What were the conditions in Poland which made its destruction possible?
8. Show, by the examples of other nations, how an "intelligent burgher class" in Poland might have been a "saving leaven in the nation."
9. The character of Louis XV. Compare the Bourbon rulers as a whole with the Stuarts.
10. How did the American Revolution affect France?

## EXERCISES

1. The influence of Madame de Pompadour upon European politics.
2. Maria Theresa.
3. The youth of Frederick the Great.
4. How did the royal courts of Prussia and France compare in general character during the period 1640-1789?
5. Economic conditions in Prussia under Frederick the Great.
6. What did Joseph II actually accomplish in the way of reform?



7. What had been the earlier relations between Russia and Poland?
8. Catherine of Russia and the "Partitions" of Poland.
9. Turgot.
10. The terms of the treaties which ended the Seven Years' War.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 358-64.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 5-10, 75-83, 88-91. Duruy: pp. 480-505, 522-24. Lewis: pp. 494-547. Pattison: pp. 333-57. Lodge: chapters xv, xviii, xix, xx, xxi. Gibbins: pp. 155-68. Robinson and Beard: vol. 1, pp. 60-203 (especially pp. 60-80, and 184-224).



## CHAPTER XXX

### ENGLAND UNDER THE GEORGES

207. *The general tendencies of the age.* After the passing of Queen Anne the history of England becomes in one sense uneventful. The attempt to make the country an absolute monarchy had utterly failed. Failure, too, had stamped the attempts to make the nation return to Catholicism or to make Puritanism the state religion. The great power of France no longer seemed to menace the very life of England. The story of the nation is, therefore, that of relatively peaceful development,<sup>1</sup> and seems comparatively tame. It was none the less decidedly important. A revolution does not lose its significance because it is accomplished by ballots instead of bullets. The enlightened England of to-day is the result of a steady evolution from the England of 1714.

There were certain characteristics common to this age following Anne. **England was still a highly aristocratic country.** The rulers who controlled the ministry and Parliament were neither the kings nor the masses, but the country squires and the landed nobility, somewhat influenced by the rising magnates of the cities. It was an age of a stately and artificial life among the upper classes; the age of ceremonious courtesy, of powdered wigs, silk knee-breeches, and silver sword-hilts. Mediæval traditions still lingered; modern innovations (the fruit of the rising spirit of democracy) were making only slow progress whether in society or in government.

<sup>1</sup> The account of the more important wars in which England was embroiled (few of which really involved national existence or honor) is told in other chapters (see chapters XXIX, XXXII-XXXIV). The story of the American Revolution is, of course, omitted, for American students will examine it during the study of the history of their own country.



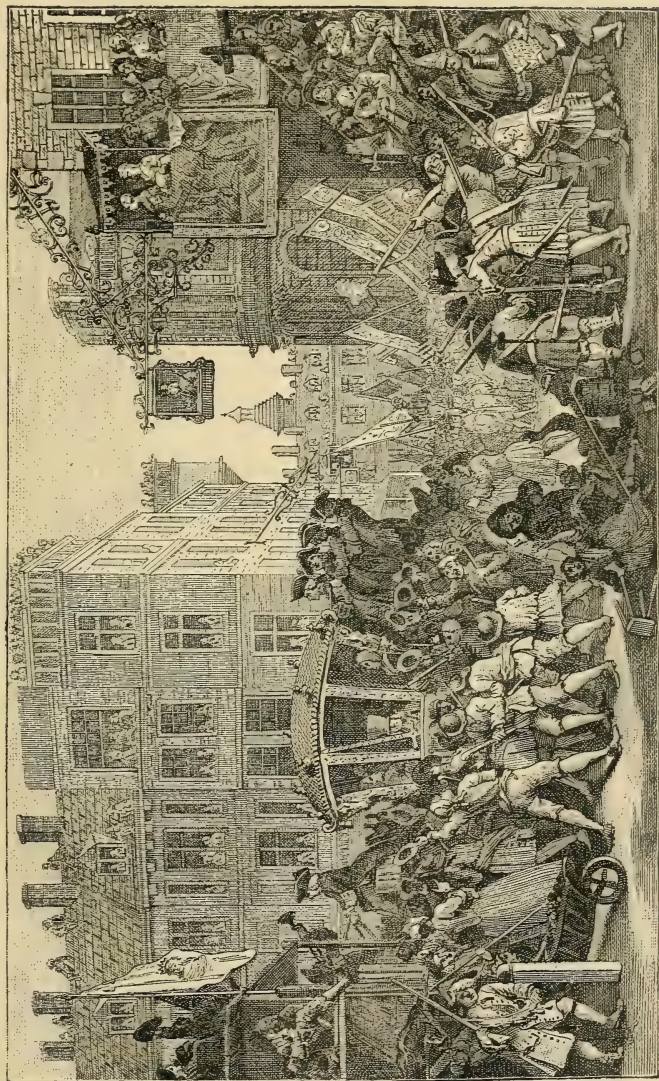
This artificial spirit spread itself into the intellectual life of England and into its religion. The greatest eighteenth-century poet was Pope, elegant, correct, but never guilty of the slightest genius. The English Church was also charged with being self-complacent and worldly, and it assuredly produced in this age no martyrs and few saints. The Nonconformist successors of the old Puritans (no longer subject to persecution) also had lapsed in zeal. From this lethargy, however, English religious life was to be stirred by one of the great apostles of the Church universal, **John Wesley** (1703-91), a preacher of marvelous power and spirituality, who strove to make religion a thing vital and personal to the untutored multitude. The English Church authorities disapproved of his unconventional methods. He was barred from pulpits, but he found the people willing to gather by tens of thousands to hear him in the open air.<sup>1</sup> The direct upshot of his movement was the founding by him of the great **Methodist Church**, among the leaders now of the Protestant confessions; but the ultimate result of his movement was also the immense quickening and revival of the entire spiritual life of England.

**208. *The four Georges*** (1714-1830). During this period the English throne was occupied by four sovereigns of the German House of Brunswick, all bearing the name of George, so that this time is often called the "**Georgian Epoch**." None of these four men had an estimable character, and it was fortunate that the Government now was largely vested in their ministers and Parliament. The only one of them who did take a very active part in statecraft (George III) interfered with most disastrous results to his own reputation and to the weal of his country.

(1) **George I** (1714-27) was a German-born Elector of

<sup>1</sup> One can judge of Wesley's activity by the mere statement that in the course of his life as an itinerant preacher he traveled 250,000 miles and delivered 40,000 sermons.





THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW IN LONDON, ABOUT 1750  
(After Hogarth)



Hanover, who was always far more at home in his small Continental principality than in England.<sup>1</sup> He understood very little of the problems and politics of his greater realm, and though "cynical and selfish" was at least wise enough personally to leave the Government to native ministers, and to let free British institutions develop unchecked.<sup>2</sup>

(2) **George II** (1727-60) was of much the same type as his father (with whom he quarreled bitterly). He was an immoral, avaricious man whose main interests were in Hanover, and who cared for England chiefly as a source of revenue. "He had scarcely one kingly quality except personal courage and justice." Yet, thanks again to his non-intervention in English internal politics, the nation prospered under the rule of able ministers.

(3) **George III** (1760-1820), the grandson of the last-named, was at least a genuine Englishman; he "gloried in the name of Briton." He was a moral, honest, industrious monarch, who unfortunately took his duties very seriously. Unlike his predecessors, he interfered actively in politics, and strove to rebuild the power of the Crown. His obstinacy and narrow-mindedness formed one of the causes of the revolt of the American colonies. The success of their revolt (and the consequent set-back to the King's schemes) probably saved England from a return to personal and possibly to autocratic govern-

<sup>1</sup> Down to Queen Victoria's day the English sovereigns were also "Electors" (later "Kings") of Hanover, in North Germany. It was a purely personal union, however, and the English let themselves be influenced by German conditions as little as possible, although once or twice British foreign policy was affected by a desire to preserve the king's Continental estates.

<sup>2</sup> In one sense it was fortunate that George I and George II *were* so German. They did not know enough of English conditions to play the tyrant in England even if they had desired. In any case, the fear of awakening discontent which would lead to recalling "the King across the water" (the exiled Stuart) prevented them from cultivating a despotic policy. George I was so much a foreigner that he did not understand enough English to follow his ministers when they met in "cabinet meetings." The result was that they usually met *without* the king, and reached their own decisions: — a great step, of course, toward ministerial independence.



ment.<sup>1</sup> In his last years George III became insane and his eldest son acted as regent. This honest, obstinate, bigoted king goes down into history as the best personally, but the worst politically, of the four Georges.

(4) **George IV** (1820-30) had already acted as regent for his imbecile father. He was an individual of considerable natural ability, but he trailed British royalty in the mire by his gross immorality and general worthlessness. By his day the power of the English king had become largely indirect and social only, and all this power he nearly threw away. The story of his private life is one long, unedifying scandal. "He was a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject, a bad monarch, and a bad friend." Fortunately he had one saving grace: — he refrained from carrying his baneful activity too far into politics.

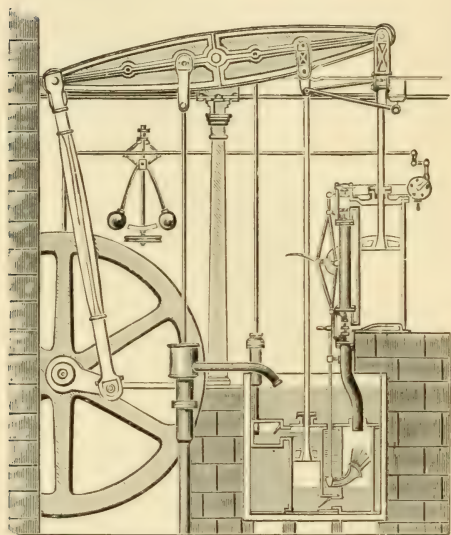
**209. *The growth of English industry and commerce.*** The age of the Georges witnessed a change which transformed the whole problem of English society and politics. In 1714, England was still mainly an agricultural country, and its commercial and manufacturing interests were secondary. In 1830, this was decidedly the reverse. The eighteenth century saw the steady decline of Holland as the maritime carrier of the world. The Dutch were neither conquered in war nor did they lose a comfortable home prosperity; but they were too small a nation to compete with the English when once the latter threw their whole energy into the contest for the world's commerce. During all this time the English towns were growing and becoming full of industrial bustle: London was displacing Amsterdam as the chief banking and money center on the globe; and a great trade in every sort of manufactured wares was being built up with almost every nation. but particularly with the

<sup>1</sup> It is not unfair to say (considering the absolutist tendencies of George III) that Washington and Franklin were fighting for the liberties of Englishmen hardly less than for those of Americans.



Orient and with the English colonies in America. The loss of the American colonies was certainly a blow to this trade; but American political independence did not imply that the Americans could at once supply their own hardware, cottons, and woollens, and for long the old colonies were among England's best customers, while meantime she was developing a second colonial empire far more profitable than the one she had lost.

New inventions of great practical utility came to aid the British manufacturer in his contest for the world's markets.



WATT'S STEAM ENGINE IN 1780

In 1769, **James Watt** took out his first patent looking toward a really effective **stationary steam engine**.<sup>1</sup> One small engine could soon accomplish more than one hundred machines worked merely by hand power. Other inventions were almost equally revolutionary. In 1767, **Hargreaves** devised the **spinning-jenny**, which was soon destined to banish the old "spindle-and-distaff," and

"spinning-wheel" of earlier days, and two years later **Arkwright** produced his celebrated "spinning-frame," which perfected and completed Hargreaves's device; then, to crown all, in 1785,

<sup>1</sup> Newcomen had invented (1704) a kind of a steam engine, but about its only practical value was for pumping. Watt improved it so that it could be made to turn wheels and so develop power. Watt's first engine of 1769 was still only a superior kind of pump. About 1785, he began to build "stationary" engines that could drive machinery.



**Cartwright** invented the **power-loom**, which was (after a period of introduction) as great a boon to weavers as the "jenny" was to spinners. In 1792, an American, **Eli Whitney**, added to these inventions the **cotton-gin**, which rapidly separated the cotton-seed from the raw cotton and left the latter ready for the mill. Other innovations notably improved the smelting and working of iron, and wrought an entire change in all the industries connected with metal.<sup>1</sup>

All these inventions slowly but steadily produced a great social and economic reaction as the nineteenth century began to advance. Manufacturing ceased to be a matter for a "master" with a few "apprentices" in his "shop." Instead, there were huge **factories**, with hundreds of "hired hands" tending machinery owned by wealthy capitalists. The farming interest of England became stationary, and then, after the wars with Napoleon ended, steadily declined. Its place was more and more taken by the great merchant, the great manufacturer, and that multitudinous, grimy, unpicturesque but most essential element called "**Labor**."

There was another marked consequence in this whole change of the main interests of England. Manufacturing involved concentration in towns, and these "smoky mill-towns" multiplied, especially in *northern* England. Hitherto the southern half of England had been the more prosperous and progressive; but it now remained agricultural, and wealth, population, and leadership began to concentrate in the new cities of the North.<sup>2</sup>

**210. The naval supremacy of England.** By 1830, England had become the richest and most prosperous, though not the most populous, country in the world. The keystone of all its

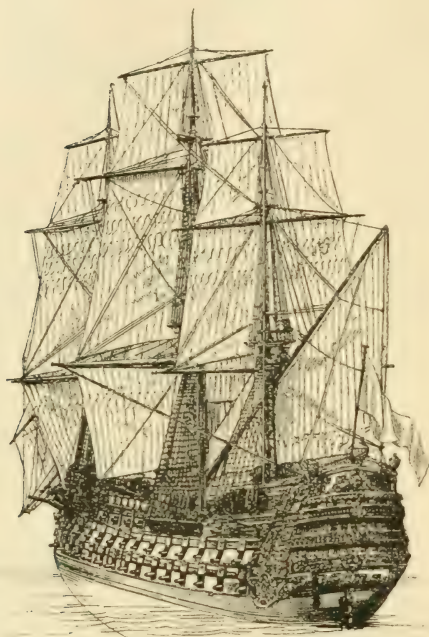
<sup>1</sup> In this age England suddenly realized the value of her large deposits of *coal*, hitherto only sparingly used. Here was an abundant and efficient fuel, absolutely essential if steam-driven machinery was to be used to full advantage.

<sup>2</sup> Among the cities that now rise to great prominence are Liverpool, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, and Sheffield, all of which were insignificant villages in Cromwell's day.



riches and glory is summed up in the term "**sea-power.**" The English fleets had dominated the ocean since the War of the Spanish Succession. The English Admiralty probably dis-

posed of **more effective battleships than all the other nations of Europe combined**, and these ships were infinitely better manned and commanded. English sailors claimed to have brought to perfection the art of handling those gigantic yet bird-like creations, the old sailing "first-rate ships of the line," which seemed the final assertion of man's superiority over the elements.<sup>1</sup>



LINE OF BATTLE SHIP OF 108 GUNS

(From a model in the Marine Museum, Louvre, Paris)

A hundred battles on twenty seas had

confirmed Britain's right to rule the waves. The defeat of a British ship in fair fight was counted wholly exceptional. The end of the Napoleonic wars (1815) left the French navy in ruins, and without the slightest chance for any Continental power to challenge the naval empire of the great island nation. Nor until very recent times has this naval empire seemed in jeopardy.

<sup>1</sup> The largest "three-decker" ships of the line carried 120-odd guns and were of some 2600 tons: — remarkably huge structures when it is considered that they were built of wood and propelled by sail. For ordinary fighting purposes, however, the handier "74-gun" ships were counted better.



**211. *The winning of India.*** One great section of English history at this time reads like a glamorous Oriental romance — the winning of India. It is impossible to summarize conditions in that distant empire. The chief facts are these: — India was a huge conglomerate of kingdoms and principalities mostly under the feeble suzerainty of the “Great Mogul” of Delhi. Her jewel mines, her infinite products, her trade, were all awaiting the European Power that could throw itself heartily into the task of conquest, and be able to make its rivals stand away. The Dutch and Portuguese had already tried: but all they had won were a few trading-posts. In the eighteenth century, **the English “East India Company”** had also held some trading-posts, notably at the sites of the modern cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The French were competing also, and for the moment a genius among them, Dupleix, came near uniting many of the Hindu Rajahs under French overlordship, at the same time that he was striving to expel the English. But a greater than Dupleix appeared to champion the English cause — **Robert Clive.**<sup>1</sup> With great skill Clive organized the natives (“Sepoys”) into regiments and taught them to fight both the French and their own countrymen. In 1756, Dupleix was recalled, as a failure, to France. In 1757, Clive gained the battle of **Plassey, a battle which practically won India for England.** With 900 English and 2000 Sepoys he routed the host of 50,000 natives led by the barbarous and cruel “Nawab”<sup>2</sup> Surajah Dowlah. Hereafter the natives might well feel themselves helpless before the “Masters” from the distant West.

By this victory England gained prompt possession of the great and rich district of Bengal. The French opportunity in

<sup>1</sup> Clive had come out to India as a clerk in the service of the East India Company; then discovered that he preferred using the sword instead of the pen.

<sup>2</sup> This title meant “viceroy” (of the Great Mogul); but for practical purposes the Nawabs were independent kings.



India was forever ended. The gradual annexation or subjugation of the native princes by the British was merely a matter of time, — while the prodigious wealth of the India trade flowed unceasingly to London.

212. *The English colonial empire.* English naval supremacy gave the great island kingdom much more than the lordship over India. In the very reign wherein the British were losing their older colonial empire in North America, they were winning another, far more extensive territorially, even if not so compact. As early as the seventeenth century they had begun the annexation of the rich **West India islands**, such as Barbadoes (occupied 1625) and the greater isle of Jamaica (taken from Spain in 1656). The great units however, which to-day enter into "Greater Britain," came in the reign of George III. **Canada**, of course, became British by the victorious peace with the French in 1763, and British it remained despite the efforts of the Americans to secure its adhesion in the war of the Revolution. The remote island continent of **Australia** had been, perhaps, sighted by Spanish voyagers (as early as 1522), but for long it lay unexplored, much less settled. In 1770, the famous English voyager, Captain Cook, made a systematic exploration, and in 1788 was begun the first English colony near the site of the present city of Sydney. The early settlers were for the most part deported convicts, and the new colony only gained genuine strength when the discovery of gold-mines in 1851 brought a more desirable class of emigrants; but since then Australia has developed into a stalwart and virtually independent nation. Simultaneous with the advance of Australia has been that of its smaller but very fertile and commercially valuable neighbor, **New Zealand**.

A little after the first occupation of Australia another great colony passed into English hands. In 1806, the English took final possession of Cape Colony (the southernmost district of Africa), wresting it from the Dutch, who were then in the power



of France. Here again it was many years<sup>1</sup> before the last resistance of the original Dutch settlers was beaten down, and the whole wide region of South Africa passed under the British flag. But this work was at length accomplished. **South Africa**, along with Canada and Australia, promises to become a great nation, with the English language, laws, and political and social ideas as its foundations.

Of lesser islands, trading-posts, and protectorates there is no place here to speak. Thanks to the enterprise of English seamen and merchants, and the organizing ability of their statesmen, in this period the nation became possessed of a colonial empire which in the nineteenth century was destined to develop into one incomparably greater in mere size than the old Empire of Rome.

This empire, too, has been founded in the main on human progress and on justice. The natives have been sometimes treated harshly, but usually with an enlightened fairness which has made for their civilization. The white settlers have been encouraged to develop self-government. The loss of the American colonies was a bitter lesson to England, but it was learned. No later white colonies have been subjected to officious meddling from London and outrageous treatment by ignorant ministers; and the greater white colonies have become independent nations in everything relating to their internal affairs, and bound to the mother country only by the ties of loyalty and self-interest.

**This colonial empire of Great Britain is one of the prime factors in modern history**, and its creation was the greatest outward achievement of the men of the "Georgian age."

**213. *The rise of the cabinet system.*** When the Georges came to the throne it was well established that the ultimate organ of power in England was the House of Commons. It was not so well determined what were to be the relations of the

<sup>1</sup> See chapter XL, section 313.



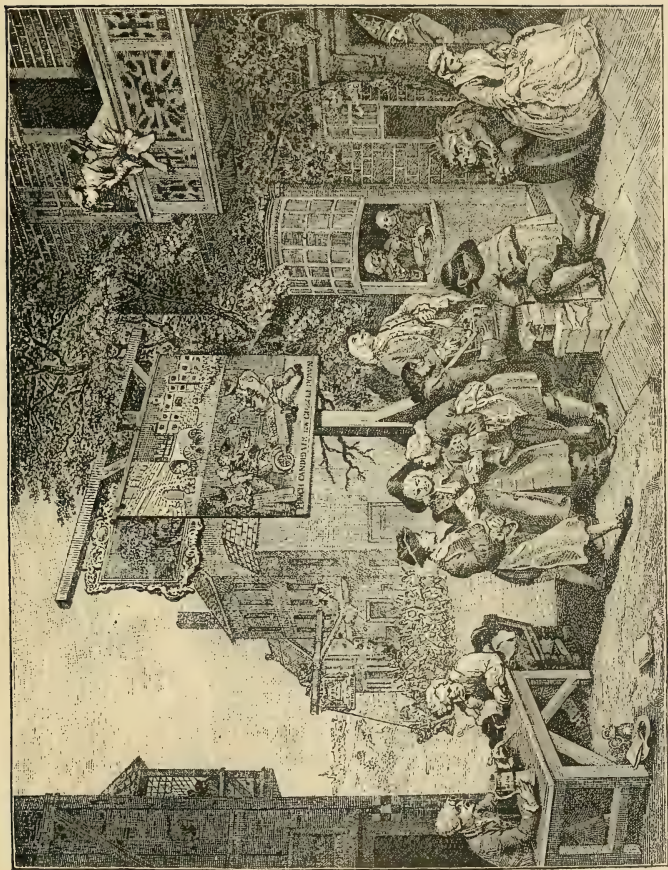
House to the king's ministers, but the end of the eighteenth century saw an evolution and an adjustment. It was settled that the king must entrust the actual conduct of affairs to **a small conclave of ministers called the "Cabinet."** Theoretically these men were summoned to office by the king himself, and held office only during his good pleasure. Actually the king could only appoint such men as were agreeable to the majority party in the House of Commons, and he must dismiss these ministers just as soon as they could no longer command a majority. The king thus ceased to have a decisive voice in choosing his own officials.<sup>1</sup> By judicious distribution of court honors, patronage, pensions, and downright money gifts, the ministers and the king could, indeed, often transform a hostile House of Commons into a subservient one, but in the last analysis a vote of "No Confidence" in the ministers always brought down a "Government" in ruins, and resulted in the formation of a new cabinet, led by the chiefs of the victorious opposition party. The alternative was a dissolution of the House of Commons and an "appeal to the nation" through a general election — a risky and uncertain proposition, which, if it did not give the ministers a majority, left them more defeated and discredited than ever. **The King was now a "limited" monarch, indeed.**<sup>2</sup> He had lost by disuse and by the growth of contrary custom even his old right to veto bills that had passed Parliament.

This virtual change in the constitution, and curtailment of royal prerogative had been made remarkably easy by the fact that the first two Georges were Germans, and withal rather

<sup>1</sup> Thus the king was often compelled to appoint men whom he vastly disliked personally. George III was once accordingly "pleased to appoint" to a high ministerial post Charles James Fox, his bitter enemy.

<sup>2</sup> Theoretically, indeed, the king kept enormous governmental powers, but he could exercise them only *through his ministers*, and those ministers were really appointed for him by the Commons. The king "could do no wrong" and was irresponsible, but since he could express his will only by ministers who were very strictly responsible for their acts, he was obviously *unable to do wrong*.





AN OLD-TIME ELECTION IN ENGLAND

Buying votes for a candidate for the Lord Mayoralty. (*After Hogarth, 1757*)



dull men, highly dependent upon their ministers. The English kings nevertheless kept an imposing position. They were still theoretically the final source of power in Church and State, and thanks to their great social influence they were still able to play a part in politics in a land and age where court favor was at a heavy premium.

**214. *The great parties and the great ministers.*** During this age the control of the Government oscillated between the two great parties, the **Whigs** and the **Tories**. The Whigs had been the main victors by the Revolution of 1688, and the Georges owed to them their crown.<sup>1</sup> With the king's influence to sustain them, they held the ministries and monopolized public office down to the death of George II. George III found the Tories, with their loud professions of devotion to "Church and Throne," more useful to his schemes for restoring the personal power of the king.<sup>2</sup> The Tories came into power early in his reign, and kept control with only slight intervals down to 1830. In the main the Whigs affected more advanced and "reforming" tendencies, and they ultimately merged in the modern "**Liberal Party**" of England: the Tories justified their traditions and history by becoming the modern "**Conservatives.**" Very often, however, neither party represented anything but a selfish organization for political patronage and plunder.

In the long succession of Prime Ministers,<sup>3</sup> capable or mediocre, a few stand out as commanding figures of history.

<sup>1</sup> The Tories never, indeed, made it a strict piece of party loyalty to recall to the throne "the King across the water" (the exiled Stuart); but many of their leaders were "Jacobites" (Stuart partisans), and the return of the Stuarts would not have been highly distasteful to the majority of the Tories.

<sup>2</sup> By this time the chances of a Stuart restoration had ceased to be serious and the Tories could be considered genuinely loyal.

<sup>3</sup> A British Prime Minister may be defined as the man who is the acknowledged leader of the Cabinet and is the chief of the dominant party in the House of Commons. The majority of the members of the party in control of the Commons thus really chooses the first official of the British Empire. He is often known by the French title of "Premier." He is usually himself a member of the Commons, although sometimes of the Lords.



**Walpole** (in power 1721 to 1742) ruled England for more than two decades with great ability, preserving peace at home and abroad, and doing a notable work in extending the commercial power of England. His régime, however, was based upon an unblushing use of patronage and political corruption.<sup>1</sup> He was a remarkable but very fallible man. Purer and far nobler was the "**Elder Pitt**" (1756-61; later Earl of Chatham), a mighty war-minister who organized with stirring energy the campaigns that drove the French from Canada, and utterly humbled the House of Bourbon.<sup>2</sup> His son William, the "**Younger Pitt**" (1783-1801; 1804-05), for many years ruled the House of Commons with his eloquence, and was the chief bulwark of the English party which waged inveterate war with Revolutionary France.

After the passing of the second Pitt, the control of English politics drifted to smaller men, and the close of the Napoleonic wars left the nation confronting new problems and compelling a realignment of the parties.

**215. *England at the end of the Georgian age: the case of Ireland.*** The end of the era of the Georges saw England a limited monarchy, indeed, but very far from being a democracy. The "old families" of the landed aristocracy still controlled the policies of the nation. They, indeed, formed a highly efficient aristocracy: to the English noblemen and country gentry with their physical bravery and fine sense of public duty England owes a large part of her present greatness. But the land was full of time-honored abuses and iniquities which it cost bitter struggles to sweep away.<sup>3</sup> For example, it was only in 1829 that Roman Catholics were permitted to hold

<sup>1</sup> To Walpole was imputed the saying, "Every man has his price."

<sup>2</sup> It is well said of him, "No one ever entered his room who did not come out of it a braver man."

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the penal laws were hideously severe: a man was liable to hanging for the larceny of a small sum of money; and insolvent debtors were still cast into prison until they could satisfy their creditors.



office and participate in public life.<sup>1</sup> The new industrial and factory life had led to fearful oppression of the wage-earners, and every attempt of "Labor" to win better treatment from "Capital" was bitterly resisted. Above all, the House of



STAGE COACH IN 1804

Commons represented the people only in name. The members were chosen under an absurd system, or rather lack of system.<sup>2</sup> In 1768, barely 160,000 persons could vote for the members in a population of 8,000,000. Little could be accom-

plished until the "representative body" could truly speak for the people. Also a great problem was thrusting itself upon England at her very doors: — the evil case of Ireland. In 1800, an Irish Parliament, coerced and corrupted by the English Government, had voted for **union with Great Britain**. Ireland as a nation had ceased to exist. The majority of the Irish were Catholics; they hated their Protestant conquerors; again, the majority of the Irish were petty tenant farmers practicing a precarious and unscientific agriculture; they hated their oppressive landlords who were usually Protestants and either Englishmen or of English sympathies. Ireland, in short, was misgoverned, discontented, poor, and miserable. This "eternal Irish question" was confronting English statesmen in 1830, and demanding a solution not merely for the sake of Ireland, but for the sake of the greater island which had mastered her.

<sup>1</sup> Protestant Nonconformists had been relieved of their heavy political disabilities in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> See commentary on the "Unreformed Parliament" (chapter XXXIX, section 297).



## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — John Wesley; "Georgian Epoch"; James Watt; Eli Whitney; Dupleix; Plassey; Cabinet; Prime Minister.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Calcutta; Bombay; Madras; Delhi.
  - (b) Mark the important gains and losses in territory during the Georgian age. (See map on the back lining pages).
3. Compare the four Georges as to character.
4. What changes in industry occurred during this period? What caused these changes?
5. Why was naval supremacy essential to England?
6. What was the importance of Robert Clive's work?
7. What was the origin of the English Cabinet?
8. Compare the relations between the kings and their ministers in England and in France before 1789.
9. Who were the great ministers of the period, and what did each accomplish?

## EXERCISES

1. How far did the fact that the English kings were rulers of Hanover influence English history?
2. How did the rise of the factory system affect the life of the people, socially and politically?
3. The Portuguese in India.
4. The English East India Company.
5. What attempts were made by the Stuarts to regain the throne?
6. Robert Clive.
7. Warren Hastings.
8. George III and his control of Parliament.
9. John Wilkes.
10. The effects of the American Revolution upon the politics and the colonial policy of England.
11. Make a brief summary of the character and work of each of the following men: — Walpole; the two Pitts; Edmund Burke; Charles James Fox.
12. The Rebellion of 1798 in Ireland.
13. The Act of Union, 1800.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 365-77.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 29-54. Gibbins: pp. 105-09, 114-19, 130-34, 145-50. An English history (Ransome, pp. 734-936; foreign policy, wars, etc., omitted). Robinson and Beard: vol. 1, pp. 80-122.



## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

216. *The general expectancy of Europe in the eighteenth century.* As the eighteenth century drew to a close, a general feeling of expectancy and optimism pervaded thinking men. **It was believed that the world was on the eve of vast and beneficent changes.** The hatreds of the religious wars had abated. The attempts of ambitious monarchs, like Louis XIV, to crush all rivals had ended disastrously. The inventive genius of mankind was displaying new activity. Great practical inventions were being made as well as discoveries in theoretical science. Long since, **Sir Isaac Newton** (1642-1727) had discovered the laws of gravitation, and Galileo (1564-1642) had invented the telescope. James Watt (1736-1819), the Scotchman, now, in the eighteenth century, had invented a really practical steam engine, and Benjamin Franklin had proved that electricity and lightning were identical. More lately, the Frenchman, **Lavoisier**<sup>1</sup> (1743-94), had made notable developments in the hitherto futile science of chemistry, raising it from an offshoot of discredited alchemy, up to a great science. Medicine, biology, astronomy, and many other sciences shared a marvelous expansion and remoulding. This vast increase of knowledge could not fail to have its effect on many lines of human life and thought. Traditional forms of theology were subjected to keen attack; nor did traditional forms of government escape less easily. Frequently it was asserted that "enlightened reasoning" could cure all human woes; nor did many realize that the problems of mankind (political and other-

<sup>1</sup> It is claimed that he was the first to separate water into oxygen and hydrogen — a fundamental discovery.



wise) are infinitely complex; that scientific knowledge in the eighteenth century was but in its infancy compared to our later knowledge; and that the remedies for misgovernment and human perversity by no means present themselves before hasty and half-informed logic. By 1780, nearly all enlightened Europeans were expecting a great social and political change. That change they were to behold: but because forces came into play which they had entirely left from the reckoning, the results were such as few or no men could have expected.

**217. *Why the revolution started in France.*** This great revolution started in France: — not because France was behind other countries, and therefore in such a desperate condition that there was need of an instant remedy, but because France was so far in advance of other Continental countries that public opinion would not tolerate conditions which other lands endured amid stupid discontent.<sup>1</sup> In social influence and nearly all the arts of peace **France seemed to lead the world.** French authors, French playwrights, French dancing-masters gave the tone to German and Italian manners and society.<sup>2</sup> The petty princes of Europe looked to their great brother at Versailles for the minutest ordering of their courts. Certain famous French philosophers, for example, Voltaire, had the world listening to them as to infallible oracles. In the salons of the witty, clever, and elegant French nobility all the problems of the universe were discussed with astonishing freedom. The government and social institutions, however, of this great country were so utterly antiquated as to make their perpetuation a wicked absurdity.

**218. *The French monarchy, despotism tempered by ineffi-***

<sup>1</sup> Of course, *England* is here left out of account. In most political matters, at least, England was ahead of France; but for that very reason was less likely to call for a revolution.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick the Great of Prussia, despite the fact that he spent many years in fighting France, was a devotee of *French* letters, writing much bad French verse, and despising his native German literature.



*ciency*. In 1780, the King of France was still theoretically absolute. He could still say, "I am the State," and meet no official contradiction. As a matter of fact, he was a slave to the mere dignity of his position: such a slave to court etiquette that he might not put on his shirt himself, if the noble officer appointed for the task were present to hand it to him; such a slave to court intrigue and influence that only by the most desperate summons to his resolution could he retain a reforming prime minister whom the courtiers found curtailing their profits and privileges. The Government of France was a despotism, practically unlimited. In a few provinces there were bodies called "**Estates**," which represented in a feeble way the king's subjects, but these by no means existed all over the kingdom. The king had a system of "**Councils**" — ministers, officials, great dignitaries — to draw up laws and consider questions of State, but they could give only advice; — the final decision lay with the monarch. In the thirty-five provinces,<sup>1</sup> the king's chief civil officials — the "**Intendants**" — enforced the royal decrees and exercised a minute watch over the whole life of the people committed to them. A good intendant was capable of bestowing vast good upon his people; but very often he was rascally, tyrannical, and inefficient, spending his time at the court and deputing his duties to still more evil subordinates.

One nominal check upon the royal power there seemed to be. The **Parliament of Paris**, the high court of France, a large and influential body,<sup>2</sup> claimed the right to make royal decrees of none effect by refusing them "registration," but this check

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, the intendants were over "*Généralités*," which only roughly corresponded with the old feudal provinces, — e.g., Normandy, Gascony, etc., — but for practical purposes they were the same.

<sup>2</sup> There were about a dozen other parliaments in the provinces of France. In these (and that at Paris) the position of judge could, under certain restrictions, be obtained by purchase! Note that in France the parliaments were *law courts*: they resembled the English Parliament only in name.



was ineffective. The king by the deliberate use of his prerogative<sup>1</sup> could always overcome this tentative veto.

By 1780, among the king's ministers *one* always stood out preëminent: the "**Controller-General.**" The Government was getting into sore financial difficulties. The chief minister would have to be he who could find it money.

**219. *The privileged and idle nobility.*** The great Kings of France had destroyed most of the political power of the old feudal nobility: they had not destroyed its personal privileges. One hundred thousand-odd individuals claimed to be of the "**noblesse,**" and to them belonged about one fifth of the soil. The French did not have the English rule of primogeniture.<sup>2</sup> The younger sons of an already poor nobleman might inherit next to nothing of the sorely subdivided estate. Only by the most desperate shifts often would they keep up a show of respectability, but they would be nevertheless proud and tenacious of their "noble prerogatives": — namely, to share in almost none of the taxes laid upon the commonalty; to monopolize practically all the offices in the army and navy; and to enjoy social advantages to which the wealthiest and most intelligent commoner dare not aspire.

Many of these nobles, of course, still possessed vast estates, from which they collected the multifarious financial dues paid by the peasantry to their lords under the old feudal régime. There had once been some justification for these dues in return for the protection the lord had given his people. Now the protection was entirely the king's matter; but the seigneur still collected his tolls and tithes.<sup>3</sup> He had too the "hunting right,"

<sup>1</sup> Expressed at a great state ceremony called a "Bed of Justice," at which the King in person ordered the parliament to "register" his edicts.

<sup>2</sup> In virtue whereof the younger sons and daughters of an English "peer" are legally only "commoners," and the noble title and privilege descend to the eldest son alone.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the noble would have the right to levy on a certain fraction of the crops, and sometimes to collect a toll on sheep or cattle driven past his



— to send his hounds and horses across the peasants' farm-lands, even trampling down the standing grain. The peasants were not suffered to shoot the deer from the lord's game preserves or even the doves from his dove-cots that spread over the newly seeded fields. To the exasperated farmers this "Right of the Dove-Cots" often seemed more obnoxious than the exemption of the seigneur from taxes.

The average nobleman did not exercise these privileges over his peasantry in person. Usually he sublet his rights to some greedy contractor.<sup>1</sup> For himself the ideal life was at Versailles at the king's court. Every *sou* that could be screwed out of the wretched *canaille* on the farms was so much to his advantage. A nobleman must not sully his name by engaging in any gainful business. He would even look askance at many forms of public service, not connected with the gentlemanly calling of the army. The typical French nobleman was elegant and witty, a charming comrade to his social equals, and physically brave. He was, however, often immoral, almost always idle, and **without the least idea that great privileges carried with them great responsibilities.** The *noblesse* had many superficial virtues, but were nevertheless a woeful incubus upon the progress of France.

**220. The bourgeoisie of the towns.** Aside from Paris, France had few great cities: in the scattered towns, however, and most especially in Paris, was an influential social class — **the wealthy, commercial, aspiring bourgeoisie.** They were without the personal privileges of the *noblesse*, but were not to be confounded with the peasantry. They prided themselves on being addressed as "Monsieur" and "Madame." The

château. The dues everywhere varied. They would be settled by old local custom.

<sup>1</sup> Frequently the noble retained the right to make certain levies upon the peasants in districts where he no longer actually owned any land. Such levies which were merely supertaxes, in addition to the king's revenues, were naturally extremely exasperating.



leaders of this rank would be the wealthy capitalists on whom the king's ministers relied for handling the public loans. At the foot of the rank were the small shopkeepers and master-artisans, who were as tenacious of the petty privileges of their industrial guilds<sup>1</sup> as were the *noblesse* of their feudal rights. Despite much selfishness and vulgarity, however, the *bour-*



CARNIVAL IN THE STREETS OF PARIS, 1757

(After a picture by Jeaurat)

*geoisie* constituted the most intelligent and public-spirited fraction of the nation. They were the most open to the new ideas; the most conscious of the wrongs of the existing order; the most active in trying to remedy the evils.

**221. The helpless and discontented peasantry.** All the burdens which the *noblesse* refused and the *bourgeoisie* often evaded fell upon the **helpless lower classes**, who constituted the vast

<sup>1</sup> Usually in each town there were a number of guilds with a very exclusive membership, and the monopoly of the manufacture and sale of some very limited article; e.g., one guild might handle only men's shoes, another women's, a third children's.



majority of the 25,000,000 of France. Between the levies of the seigneur, the levies of the king, and the exactions of the Church,<sup>1</sup> the peasantry in many districts appear to have been unable to gain more than a most precarious living. Any failure of crops or like calamity involved widespread misery and famine. Life to the bulk of Frenchmen meant the most severe, grinding field-labor. Even if a family prospered in a small way, they hesitated to show any sign of comfortable living: it would have been seized as proof that they could pay heavier taxes. Yet this French peasantry, although fearfully ignorant, was a good stock: hard-handed, industrious, patriotic, and usually clear-headed, it was to supply the energy and fighting force which made the French Revolution the wonder of terrified Europe and which enabled Napoleon to carry his banners from the Rhine to Moscow.

**222. *The unequal and absurd system of taxation.*** The most abominable feature of the whole evil "Old Régime" in France was the fact that **the Government was nearly bankrupt, while the people were groaning under taxation** at a moment when under a rational system the rich land could readily have turned in much greater revenues.

The direct imposts which fell upon the non-nobles were various. There were a **property tax** (*taille*), **poll-tax** (*capitation*), and especially **the corvée** — forced labor upon the roads and other public works. Fifty-three per cent, it is said, of the net profits of a small farmer would be swept away by the king's tax-collector.<sup>2</sup> The Church and the feudal seigneur had still to be satisfied! In the assessment of these taxes there was every kind of inequality. The intendant of a province and his deputies could reduce or increase assessments almost arbitrarily. All the friends and "friends of friends" of the assessors were sure to look for favors or downright exemption.

<sup>1</sup> See section 223.

<sup>2</sup> This statement rests on good authority, yet many scholars hold that it was exaggerated.



The direct taxes, however, were only a part of the royal revenues. Very important were the indirect taxes, the right to collect which were usually sold away by the Government to wealthy "**tax-farmers**," who would pay the king a lump sum, and then recoup themselves by collecting a given tax for a fixed period. The agents of such men were sure to exact the uttermost farthing. These indirect taxes were numerous and outrageous. Between almost every two adjacent provinces of France there was a custom-house, and duties levied on all merchandise passing. **Salt** was a state monopoly, disposed of at government shops. The price of salt varied arbitrarily in different parts of France: in one district the price fixed might be eight times as much as that levied in a locality a few miles away. Under penalty of law every head of a family, in some districts, was compelled to buy annually seven pounds of salt for every member of his household above the age of seven. It was a penal offense to boil down brine to obtain salt, instead of buying at the public depot. The prisons and galleys were full of salt smugglers.

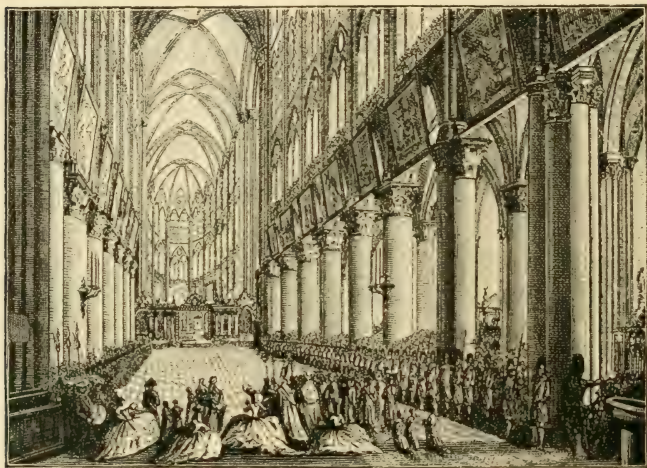
Yet at the very time of this terrific taxation, the royal treasury was chronically depleted. The cost of collecting this revenue was enormous. A perfect horde of harpies, great and little, came in for their profits and pickings. The court was full of sinecure officers at enormous salaries. The "tutor of the king's children" received a salary of \$23,000: the "superintendent of the queen's household," \$30,000. The waste everywhere at Versailles was incredible. The three maiden aunts of Louis XVI received an allowance of \$120,000 for food!<sup>1</sup> A long list might be made of similar absurdities. Of course, all this involved a shameless exploitation of the treasury; and a reign of what the modern age has called "graft."

**223. A worldly and unbelieving clergy.** There were about

<sup>1</sup> Naturally the menials who administered the affairs of these worthy ladies saw to it that most of this money went into their own pockets.



130,000 prelates, priests, monks, and nuns in France. About one fifth of the entire landed property of the kingdom belonged to the Church. Protestants, although not quite so drastically persecuted as under Louis XIV, had no legal status. This Catholic clergy had thus great wealth and an entire monopoly of religion; but the great churchmen, no more than the lay nobility, displayed any sense of the responsibilities involved with their riches and influence. Between the upper clergy (bishops,



THE INTERIOR OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS, IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

abbots, canons, etc.) and the rank and file of the parish priests there was a great gulf fixed. The regular parish priests were recruited ordinarily from the lower classes. Their salaries were miserably small: in 1784, their average income was only \$140 per year. While the French Church was exempt from the taxes which fell upon the non-noble laity, it paid a fair-sized "Free Gift" to the king; but the lion's share was usually exacted from the parish clergy.

**The great ecclesiastical offices were practically monopolized**



by the scions of the nobility. The peasant paid a third heavy tax to the Church (tithes) after he had satisfied the king and the seigneur. His hard-earned money, however, went not for the most part to the laborious and pious if perhaps narrow-minded local *curé*. The noble "higher clergy" absorbed five sixths of the whole vast revenues of the Church (about \$60,000,000). They spent it usually in a manner very unecclesiastical, indeed. The great bishops were commonly lordly noblemen maintaining magnificent courts, dispensing elegant hospitality, and totally ignoring their religious duties. The most magnificent of these mitred princes was the Cardinal de Rohan. His income was \$200,000. Fourteen butlers waited upon him. In his palace were 700 beds; and in his stables stalls for 200 horses. He could entertain 200 guests and their servants simultaneously. Many of these great churchmen were extremely immoral, and their lives the subject for common scandal.<sup>1</sup>

These worldly and immoral upper clergy were not even sincere in the support of the faith they professed. Although most of the bishops deplored any toleration of the Protestants, it was notorious that many did not believe the ordinary tenets of the Catholic religion. "There may be four or five," said a well-informed Paris priest when asked how many of the French bishops really believed what they preached. The intellectual movement of the age was profoundly anti-religious, and the great churchmen were cheerful sharers in the thought of their day — so long as their own incomes were not harmed.

Between this upper clergy (recruited from the *noblesse*) and the peasant-born lower clergy, there was distrust and ill-feeling. The French Church went into the impending crisis discredited and disunited.

<sup>1</sup> The deplorable worldliness of the higher French clergy on the eve of the Revolution is widely admitted by Catholic as well as by Protestant writers. It took the terrible chastening of the Reign of Terror to restore the French churchmen to lives of piety and genuine religion.



224. *Voltaire and Rousseau.* The new intellectual movement had two distinguished prophets — Voltaire and Rousseau. Others championed the reign of “pure reason,” “philosophy,” and “science,” no less ardently — but these were the leaders.

**Voltaire** (1694-1778) was the most notable literary genius of the eighteenth century. No man ever wrote the clear, forceful, elegant French language with greater effect than he. He was a dramatist, an historian, an essayist, and everywhere won fame; but **his one real mission in life was to puncture shams.** The despotism, superstition, hypocrisy, and servility of the age led him to assail the French institutions and the Christian Church (as he understood it), with a bitter, unsparring pen. Through a long life the greatest literary figure in Europe thus played the iconoclast. Feeble attempts to suppress him only put his works in greater demand. He died before witnessing the Revolution he had done so much to promote, but at a time when the “Old Régime” was already tottering to its fall.<sup>1</sup>

Voltaire was the destroyer of the old: **Rousseau** (1712-78)<sup>2</sup> was more constructive. In several quasi-romances, and especially in his famous treatise, “**The Social Contract**,” he set forth a theory that was seized upon with avidity by an artificial age already tired of its own emptiness and absurdities. Rousseau sets forth that the conventionalities of society are utterly wrong. To be happy men should “return to nature,” and live the life of the “noble, unspoiled savage.” “Civilized man is born, lives, dies in a state of slavery [to artificial conventions]. The Caribbeans are more fortunate than we by half!” In “**The Social Contract**” he suggested the establish-

<sup>1</sup> There is much in Voltaire's personal character (as in Rousseau's) that has been execrated by unfriendly critics, but that is no reason for ignoring his tremendous influence upon the thought of his day.

<sup>2</sup> Rousseau was born in Geneva, Switzerland; he spent much of his life in France, however, and may be counted practically a Frenchman.



ment of a republic, with universal suffrage, on a basis of "liberty, fraternity, and equality." His theories were crude. The present age laughs at many of his premises and conclusions, but his books were read almost as inspired Scripture by the Frenchmen of his day. "**The Social Contract**" was practically the Bible of the French Revolutionists.

**225. *The prime factors in the French Revolution.*** Here, then, were the causes of the great explosion which was to rock Europe. The social and political institutions of France were hopelessly evil; and men believed that by applying certain *a priori* theories it was possible to establish a new régime under which all humanity could be "happy." There was abundant complaint from every quarter, and abundant wordy wisdom as to the remedy; but there was almost *no* practical experience as to that remedy. At the beginning of the Revolution drama, here are the main factors for the setting: —

(a) **The king and court.** In sore need of money; the treasury practically empty; yet with a healthy fear of imposing new taxes on mere royal fiat, lest a revolt be provoked that would ruin the monarchy.

(b) **The noblesse and upper clergy.** Idle, corrupt, discredited; incapable of effectively aiding the king; and with many individual members tinctured with the new thought and willing to help destroy the privileges of their own order.

(c) **The bourgeoisie of the towns.** The real brains of France; discontented, active, aggressive; patriotically anxious to advance the interests of France, but full of crude political and social theories which would carry them they knew not whither.

(d) **The peasantry and mob of Paris.** At first too ignorant and hopeless to take action, but when once roused capable of a terrible burst of blind fury against their oppressors; and, of course, even more open than the *bourgeoisie* to specious though fallacious arguments.

The Revolution was begun by the *bourgeoisie* aided by an



intelligent minority of the *noblesse*. In the second stage of the movement the worst passions of the lower classes were awakened and unchained. Then followed the Reign of Terror.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Intendants; Parliament of Paris; Controller-General; Right of the Dove-Cots; Taille; Corvée; Voltaire; the "Social Contract."
2. Why were "enlightened Europeans" expecting great changes to take place in social and political conditions at the end of the eighteenth century?
3. Why was France in advance of other Continental countries, as described in section 217?
4. Make a table of comparisons according to the following plan, covering sections 218-23.

<i>Estates</i>	<i>Proportion of population</i>	<i>Privileges</i>	<i>Obligations (services, taxes, etc.)</i>	<i>Sources of income</i>
First Estate (Clergy) .....				
Second Estate (Nobles) .....				
Third Estate (a) <i>Bourgeoisie</i> .....				
(b) Peasants .....				

5. The work of Voltaire and of Rousseau in preparing the way for a change.

### EXERCISES

1. The scientific knowledge at the end of the eighteenth century.
2. The etiquette of the French court.
3. Taxation under the Old Régime.
4. How did the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Economists influence the thought of the period?
5. What were the industrial conditions in France?

### READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 378-93.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 55-75, 88-91, 92-106. Duruy: pp. 506-

34. Lodge: chapter XXI. Robinson and Beard: vol. 1, pp. 203-24.



## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

**226.** *The summoning of the States General (1789).* The spring of 1789 saw France profoundly agitated. After long tension in palace circles, after several abrupt changes in the ministry, and resort to many desperate fiscal expedients, King Louis XVI and his advisers found their Government confronting bankruptcy. The revenues would not meet the regular public charges, capitalists refused loans, and to increase the old unjust taxes would provoke bloody revolt. Yet the Government must have more money or cease to exist. By what means could this be secured? An increasing chorus of voices answered — “through **the States General of France.**”

In 1788, Louis announced that he would convene the “States General”; and as proof of sincerity restored as director of the treasury the clever and popular financier, Necker, who had formerly lost office through a court intrigue. While Necker attempted various stopgaps to gain funds for a few months longer, France was stirred by a rare event, an election for the States General.

This latter was an old, discarded institution that had not been convened since 1614. Louis XIV, and Louis XV after him, had abhorred the very name of this assembly. Still, its existence had never been forgotten. In a most imperfect way it had resembled the English Parliament. It had met in **three houses; (1) The Clergy; (2) the Nobility; (3) the deputies of the Third Estate** (the commonalty of France). In the Middle Ages it had been convened only at rare and irregular intervals. For it to pass any measure all three of its sections, meeting



separately, were obliged to agree on a common action.<sup>1</sup> About its only real use had been to give the show of popular consent to some extraordinary tax desired by the king.

Now in the day of necessity this old machinery was refurbished. For the first time in six generations France had something corresponding to an election. There were to be chosen 300 representatives of the clergy, 300 of the nobility, and 600 of the "Third Estate." But the first two groups could speak and vote for only two very limited classes: the third for 25,000,000 Frenchmen. Were these 600 non-nobles meekly to walk behind the aristocrats and bishops and accept their leadership? Were the three classes to meet **in three separate assemblies or only in one?** If in three, then the demands of the non-noble majority for reform could be thwarted by the resistance of the nobles alone, even though the clergy took the popular side. These vital questions, especially this last issue of "voting by order or by head" (in three bodies or in one), were not settled clearly in the royal decree ordering the election, and here was the germ of the first great conflict.

There was little previous political experience in France. Men do not learn instantly how "to act politically." The Third Estate had to choose its deputies clumsily by the citizens of each district appointing "electors," these delegates naming the actual representatives. Very many country lawyers were chosen, men full of the ideas and theories of Rousseau, and convinced that they were sent to Versailles, not simply to vote the king more money, but to execute great reforms for France.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was notorious that the three parts of the States General were usually bitterly at variance, and unable to unite on any action unwelcome to the king. It had never been a reliable check upon the French monarchs, and after 1614 the masterful sovereigns had disregarded any obligation to convene it, and had made laws and imposed taxes on the mere strength of their royal decrees.

<sup>2</sup> Each district when it elected its deputies drew up a *cahier*, a bill of complaints, which its delegate was supposed to get adjusted. A study of these *cahiers* shows that Frenchmen were expecting a general reformation of the Government to take place; especially the restriction of the despotic power of the Crown and the abolition of the relics of feudalism in society.



Everywhere there was unrest and eager expectation. Everywhere, in a land where genuine political discussion had hitherto been suppressed by the authorities, was a most violent agitation for all kinds of reforms. The spirit of the winter 1788-89 was summed up in a keen pamphlet by the politically minded Abbé Sieyès. — What has the Third Estate (he asked) been hitherto? Nothing! What does it ask? To be something! What ought it to be? Everything! The nobility and the clergy (he argued) could be safely disregarded. Without their 200,000 members the Third Estate would still be “a free and flourishing nation” of 25,000,000.

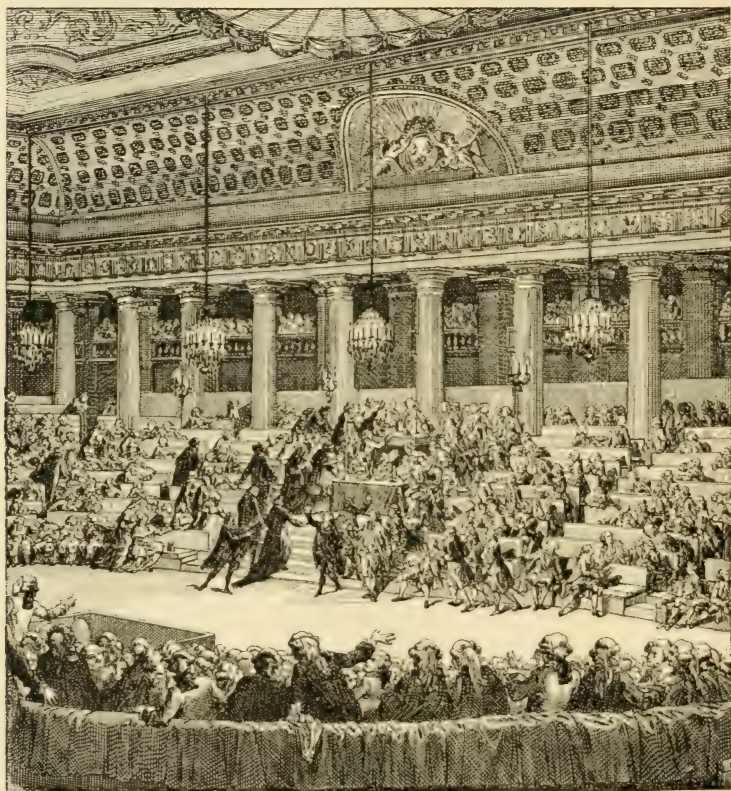
“Liberty” — a strange word in monarch-ridden Europe — was freely spoken in France in 1789. Men fondly believed that they were on the eve of a prompt and peaceful change to an era of “freedom and enlightenment.”

**227. *The meeting of the States General (1789).*** On May 5, 1789, at the royal city of Versailles, met the deputies of France. If Louis and his adviser Necker had realized the eager desire of the vast majority of Frenchmen for sweeping reforms, and had put themselves at the head of the movement, they might have avoided many explosions which followed. But Louis (a man without imagination) and **Necker** (a mere financier) simply wished the deputies to consider various fiscal expedients, no doubt excellent, but not remedies for the grievous woes of France. Besides, in the opening ceremonies, the Third Estate members were exasperated by being treated as the social inferiors of the clergy and nobility. The king presently required the deputies to “organize.” The nobles and a majority of the clergy did so, as two separate bodies, — apart from the commoners.<sup>1</sup> The latter refused at first to organize, on the

<sup>1</sup> Many of the clergy were delegates elected by the country *curés*, who had little fellowship with the lordly prince-bishops. From the first this strong minority among the clergy was ready to act with the commons. Also a few nobles (e.g., Lafayette, the friend of Washington) wished to join with the Third Estate.



ground that they were only part of a single grand assembly, and that a large number of fellow members were absent. But presently the Third Estate cut the knot by declaring itself as



THE STATES GENERAL IN SESSION AT VERSAILLES

*(After a contemporary drawing by Monnet)*

being “the representatives of ninety-six per cent of the French nation,” and therefore the “**National Assembly**,” and perfected its organization as if it were the sole body, the others mere groups of negligible absentees. This speedily provoked a crisis.



The king was full of good intentions, but he was not anxious to have the privileged classes swamped in a gathering where they were sure to be outvoted. Under the pretext that its hall would need to be arranged for a special "royal sitting," the Assembly was excluded from June 17 to June 23. Then it was expected by the angry court party that the upstart country lawyers would be taught their proper place and functions.

**228. *The tennis-court oath (June 20, 1789).*** But the commons, timid at first and placed amid strange surroundings, were finding courage with organization. Leaders were developing: especially **Mirabeau**, a nobleman, who, after a wild and discreditable youth, had come to place his really great gifts as orator and statesman at the service of the people. Angered by the delays and veiled threats of the courtiers, and again convinced that behind themselves were the desires and even the weapons of enkindled France, the commons met in a tennis-court at Versailles, and with one great voice and hands raised high took oath "never to separate until they had given France a constitution."<sup>1</sup>

The firm attitude of the Third Estate was already intimidating the upper orders, and there were desertions from them to the "Assembly," before the "Royal Session" took place on June 23. The deputies of all classes were then gathered in the main hall while the king set forth many excellent reforms,<sup>2</sup> but he bade the "Estates" meet separately "after the ancient custom." When the king retired, most of the higher orders followed him. The commons sat stolidly in their seats.

"Have you heard the orders of the king?" asked the haughty "Master of Ceremonies."

<sup>1</sup> Meeting as one body of 1200, the 600 commoners, plus a large number of *curés* sure to be on their side, could easily outvote all the nobles and upper clergy, and put through any unwelcome program.

<sup>2</sup> One year earlier these proposed reforms would have made Louis XVI intensely popular. It was his misfortune always to do his good deeds just a little too late!



"Yes, sir," retorted Mirabeau, and his words reëchoed through the applauding nation, "and let me tell you that **we are here by the will of the people**, and that we shall only quit our seats at the point of the bayonet!"

It was a decisive moment. Louis could have ordered in his soldiery, but the dispersal of the elected deputies of France might have precipitated a general uprising. The Government was bankrupt. In the votes of the Assembly was its only financial hope. The king's nerve failed him. He recoiled at such a conflict with his subjects, and presently swallowed his dignity. The king actually "asked" the nobles and clergy to join the commons. They hastily obeyed. The **National Assembly** was at last genuinely constituted and could begin the reformation of France.

229. *The fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789)*. As yet, however, mere moral force and the vague fears of an uprising had compelled the indignant court party to retreat. The queen and many more about Louis strove to convince him that, in appealing for help to his subjects, he had invoked not assistance but a destructive demon. There was still imminent danger that the Assembly would be dissolved by arms, and France thrown back into the old ways of despotism. Then it was that **the mob of Paris supplied the actual fighting force which was to enable the Assembly to do its work in safety**.

Paris had been one seething cauldron during June, 1789. Men were willing to hope anything from the Assembly, to believe everything ill of the court party. A misstep by the king<sup>1</sup> precipitated the crisis. Necker (accounted too "popular" for the court party) was dismissed from office. Certain German and Swiss mercenary regiments were moved close to Paris and Versailles; — "to break up the Assembly" spread

<sup>1</sup> At Louis's elbow were the queen, and his brothers, the Counts of Provence and Artois (the later kings Louis XVIII and Charles X) — short-sighted, incompetent, and reactionary, who hated all proposals for reforms with a fervor worthy of a better cause.





LOUIS XI  
King of France (1461-1483)  
Born 1423      Died 1483



RICHELIEU  
French cardinal and statesman  
Born 1585      Died 1642



MIRABEAU  
French revolutionary leader  
Born 1749      Died 1791



METTERNICH  
Austrian statesman  
Born 1773      Died 1859

## ARCHITECTS OF EMPIRE







common rumor. The tidings drove the uneasy spirits in Paris frantic. At the "Palais Royal" (a favorite gathering-place) a young man, Camille Desmoulins, applied the match to the magazine. Leaping upon a table, he sent his voice over the buzzing, excited throng: "Citizens! They have driven Necker from office. They are preparing a St. Bartholomew for patriots. To arms! To arms!"

The next night and day were spent by the Parisians in arming and organizing. The insurgents were joined by the "French Guards," a kind of local militia. Arsenals were broken open. On July 14, **the multitude cast itself upon the Bastille**, the king's great prison-fortress, the embodiment of royal tyranny in Paris. The weak garrison soon surrendered and were massacred by the infuriated Parisians.<sup>1</sup>

The king's power in his chief city had crumbled in a twinkling. It was evident that he had no effective army wherewith to crush his malcontent subjects.

"This is a revolt!" — the tale runs — cried Louis to the Duke of Liancourt, who brought the news.

"No, sire," came the reply; "it is a revolution."

The duke was right. The weakness of the king stood revealed. No physical force could stop the **Revolution** now, — it must go on its way.

**230. Paris captures the monarchy (October 6, 1789).** The agitation soon spread to the provinces. The wolfish peasants rose against their hated seigneurs. The police were powerless. By night the skies were red with burning chateaux. In the name of mere decency and order, all over France the intelligent "middle classes" organized provisional local governments, and local militia — "**National Guards.**" Paris gave itself a new city government with Bailly (president at the "tennis-

<sup>1</sup> Although earlier the Bastille had been famous as the prison for wretches held at the king's arbitrary pleasure, at this time it contained very few prisoners. The place would not have been taken had the governor stood stoutly to his guns, but he could hardly induce his few cannoneers to face embattled Paris.



court " on the day of the great oath) as its mayor, **Lafayette**, the popular young nobleman, as chief of its national guard. It was at this time that the famous tricolor (red, white, and blue) ribbons were adopted as the badge of the Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Assembly had devoted itself to "reforming the nation." It was far easier, however, to vote the abolition of old abuses than to execute works of constructive statesmanship. On the night of August 4, carried away by a burst of generous and truly French enthusiasm, nobles had joined with commoners in decreeing the annihilation of practically all the old social, financial, and political privileges enjoyed by the nobility and clergy.<sup>2</sup> By one great stroke there was ordained **for all Frenchmen equal rights and equal liberties.**

It was excellent to vote this. It was harder to make benefits of the revolution seem real to the impatient masses. In October, 1789, bread was scarce in Paris; times were hard; common report said that the king and especially the queen were trying to win over the army officers, doubtless for an armed counter-revolution.<sup>3</sup> Another explosion followed. On October 5, a mob of thousands of hungry women, joined by many disorderly men, tramped through the mire from Paris to Versailles and threatened the palace. "Bread, bread, and not so many words!" rang the yell when the astonished Assembly tried to quiet them with speeches. Lafayette and the national guards hastened from Paris to protect the king. There was a lull; but early the next day the mob broke into the

<sup>1</sup> The old standard of the French kings was *white*. To call a man a "white" in 1789 was the same as calling him a royalist.

<sup>2</sup> The Assembly had no intention of destroying legitimate property rights. The holders of most of these privileges were to be paid by the Government for their losses. But in the stormy days that followed, the promised compensation usually came to very little.

<sup>3</sup> It is certain that, on October 1, a banquet was given at Versailles to various influential officers. Remarks insulting to the Assembly were made. The "national" toasts were left undrunk; the white cockade, not the tricolor, was worn, — while Marie Antoinette mingled with the officers most graciously.



palace and slew several of the king's gentlemen. Lafayette thereupon persuaded Louis, as the only means of preventing further rioting, **to return to Paris** with the whole company.

"We've got the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's boy," howled the loose spirits around the royal coach on its way to the metropolis.

The king was lodged in the Palace of the Tuileries. The Assembly soon followed to Paris. Louis was still granted outward loyalty and ceremony; none the less, he and his queen were the prisoners of their increasingly distrustful subjects.

**231. *The new constitution.*** At Paris, subject to the pressure of public clamors, the Assembly undertook the work of reorganizing France. It committed many errors. It had little of that long political experience and practical political wisdom whereof Anglo-Saxons boast. Many fine propositions were entertained which were to prove wholly unpractical. The ordinary usages of parliamentary law had to be learned by men unaccustomed to free legislatures. The representatives were unduly swayed by highly wrought oratory and false sentiment when nobly expressed. Yet good sense on the whole preponderated; and everywhere was sincere patriotism. The results were probably all that could have been expected.

In brief, **France was given a new administration.** The old provinces<sup>1</sup> (which had fostered decentralization) were replaced by eighty-three "departments" based on geographical features. The nation remained nominally a monarchy, but so "limited" a monarchy that Louis XIV might well have groaned in his grave. The king was left merely as the agent for executing the laws. For almost every positive act, he must refer to the "**Legislative Assembly.**" This body, chosen every two years, was to vote the necessary laws in the future.<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Normandy, Provence, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Probably it would have been wiser to have had *two* houses; — but the French took pride in not seeming to imitate the English Parliament.



was to be composed of a single house of representatives of the people. The king could veto its bills, but bills passed by three successive legislatures were to be considered laws in spite of the king. Of greater significance for the average private person was the sweeping legal reform. A whole new judicial system was created. Judges were to be elected officials, and no longer royal appointees chosen from a special class of the nobility. Trial by jury was instituted, and the old mediæval usages of torture and arbitrary imprisonment were abolished. There were to be no more endless "imprisonments during the king's pleasure," and no more "Bastilles." Again, a uniform system of laws was proposed for all France, in place of the two hundred-odd "local customs" which had prevailed, with their varying degrees of injustice. And most vital of all was the cardinal fact that hereafter **all Frenchmen were to be equal before the law**, — with the same treatment awaiting the nobleman in his gilt-laced coat and the peasant in his blue blouse and wooden sabot.\*

France thus gained from this "first Revolution" of 1789 great and undoubted social benefits. Feudalism was destroyed. Equal rights for all men were created. These gains were never to be lost. For all this a heavy debt of gratitude was due to the "Assembly" of this memorable year. But the political part of its labors turned out to be far less satisfactory. Most Frenchmen, indeed, would have been content with almost any form of government, provided it gave them prosperity, law, and order; but an active minority were full of discontent. The new political system seemed simply outrageous to the old *noblesse*, — they were anxious to make it fail. The ultra-radicals, in turn, soon considered it merely a step toward an ideally "free" constitution. They could lay hands on one feature of the new constitution which especially seemed contrary to all ideas of equality; — to be a voter a man must pay taxes equal to three days of ordinary labor.<sup>1</sup> About one person

<sup>1</sup> The exact sum involved would be fixed by the local usage of the region.



in four (otherwise eligible) was thus disfranchised. The radicals made great outcry, and the excluded class was sure to be offended, turbulent, and irresponsible. Between the reactionaries and the radicals the new constitution was thus certain of a speedy trial by fire.

**232. *The flight to Varennes.*** Amid its praiseworthy efforts the Assembly made one decisive blunder: it undertook to reform the French Church. No attempt was made to tamper with the matters of faith, but many pious Catholics were outraged by the enactment that bishops and *curés* were henceforth to be chosen by the voters like secular officials. Still more ill-considered was the vote putting the great property of the Church "at the service of the State." The Assembly did, indeed, promise a just income to the churchmen whose tithes, endowments, and lands were seized. None the less it was an ill-considered confiscation, probably entered into because many deputies saw in the Church property a convenient mode of increasing the public credit without ordering new taxes, and because they were indifferent or mildly hostile to the Christian religion as they understood it. Many good Catholics now, however, turned against the "Revolution" which they had at first sustained. The king, a very devout man, felt this stroke at his personal religion most keenly. Perhaps it was this unlucky legislation by the Assembly which goaded him (already wrathful at other lesser matters) into disastrous action.

In June, 1791, **Louis XVI, disguised as a valet, fled with his family from Paris.** His aim was to reach the frontier toward Germany: once there, his brother-in-law, Emperor Leopold of Austria, could be appealed to for a foreign army to restore him to his power in France. The scheme for flight had been cleverly conceived, but it was most bunglingly executed. At Varennes, Louis was discovered and identified. Alarm-bells were soon sounding. The townspeople rose and overpowered his escort. On July 25, Louis XVI and his queen reëntered the Tuileries:



this time prisoners in very deed. The flight to Varennes was a costly blunder. It announced to all France that the king had no heart in the Revolution, and would destroy it if he could.

**233. *The new legislature.*** The Assembly had declared Louis suspended from office: but it was not easy to depose him. His brothers and most of the other royal princes were hopeless reactionaries, and were mostly "emigrants" — i.e., fugitives in Germany busy devising a bloody return to France. The only alternative was a republic; but most men were not yet ready for that. Somewhat lamely the Assembly came to terms with the king. Various changes were made in the new constitution, making it slightly more acceptable to Louis. There was already a considerable faction urging the abolition of monarchy, but a strong party headed by Lafayette strove to preserve a "moderate" attitude. To their minds the Revolution was completed; the new constitution must be allowed a fair chance to work peacefully and to complete the regeneration of France. The king finally accepted the constitution with apparent heartiness, and was restored to his functions. On September 30, 1791, the Assembly dispersed. Just before adjournment it enacted a special law which did credit to its own disinterestedness, but not to its political sagacity. It enacted that no member of the Assembly should be eligible to the new regular legislature about to gather. All the practical parliamentary experience, therefore, acquired by members of the Assembly was thus to be thrown away. The new legislature must be composed of very untried men.

The Assembly of 1789-91 had striven nobly and patriotically for France. Its leaders believed they had created a constitution to last for all time. This much-lauded "Constitution of 1791" was actually to last less than one year.

**234. *The outbreak of war.*** In reality the new constitution never had a genuine chance to prove its ordinary excellences and defects. **France was about to be embroiled in war with**



nearly all Europe, while a powerful party at home from the first cried out that the new order was only an insufficient break with the old.

The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia had for months regarded the progress of the Revolution with grave concern. Political ideas seldom stop at boundaries, and France had been the intellectual leader of Europe. Marie Antoinette never ceased to write to her imperial kinsfolk at Vienna deploring the desperate straits of royalty in France, and entreating aid. What a French crown would be worth, if propped up on Austrian bayonets, she seems never to have asked. But more than mere sympathy for the family in the Tuileries was stirring the German princes. Various acts of the Assembly had affected their own interests adversely.<sup>1</sup> French noble "emigrants," fleeing their homes, flocked to the petty German courts and were given hearty welcome, and permission to organize conspiracies. On both sides there were hatred, suspicion, recrimination.

In this atmosphere, charged with the fear of foreign intervention, the **Legislative Assembly** met (October 1, 1791). Its 745 members were mostly inexperienced radicals: its dominating element, the later "**Girondist**" **Party**,<sup>2</sup> was composed of clever and brilliant orators who were fervent democrats in principle and regarded the idea of even a devitalized monarchy with aversion. They dared not strike at the new constitution for the moment, but they were able to bring to pass something that they felt would accomplish the same end. They easily goaded the king and his ministers into declaring war upon Austria. Louis probably assented the more readily because he believed that by Austrian victories he was sure to recover his power. The radicals saw more wisely that the shock of battle

<sup>1</sup> Especially those declaring abolished various feudal rights *within* France, but retained by German princes whose main dominions lay beyond the borders.

<sup>2</sup> The leading members of the faction — Vergniaud, Gensonné, etc., came from the Department of the Gironde.



would ruin royalty by exposing the king's duplicity. "Let us tell Europe," cried the fiery Isnard, "that if cabinets engage kings in a war against peoples, we will engage peoples in a war against kings."

Causes were easily found. April 20, 1792, **France declared war on Austria** and a little later on her ally, Prussia; — and so began the war which convulsed all Europe, and lasted with brief truces down to 1815 and the field of Waterloo.

**235. *The downfall of French royalty (1792).*** The past three years had demoralized the French army utterly. Its former officers, mostly noblemen, had resigned or deserted by hundreds. The first results of the warfare were a series of disgraceful defeats all along the frontier. There was reason for believing that the royal family within the Tuileries received the tidings of national disaster without unmixed feelings of dismay. The whole public administration seemed feeble and incompetent. A few weeks promised to see an Austro-Prussian army in Paris. In such a moment desperate remedies seemed called for to save France.

In the "Legislative" the Girondists gave certain perfunctory support to the party which still adhered to the king and the constitution, but **an ultra-radical faction, the Jacobins**,<sup>1</sup> was prepared for action. During the later part of July and the first week of August, 1792, Paris was seething once more. Every tale of defeat increased the rage against "Capet" (Louis) and "the Austrian Woman." Not merely Paris, but the departments were stirring. From Marseilles came a battalion of 600 young Republicans, who for the first time made the streets of Paris ring with the great fighting song of the Revolution, "**the Marseillaise**," the best of all national hymns to rouse men to do or die.

The climax came **August 10**. The faction in the Paris city

<sup>1</sup> The "Jacobins" took their name from their club-house at the former convent of the old Jacobin order of monks.



government loyal to Louis was overpowered; the armed city bands dashed themselves against the Tuileries. Even now, the palace might have been defended had not Louis, with an untimely act of kind-heartedness, ordered his 950 Swiss guardsmen to cease firing. The uncouth insurgents surged into the hall of the "Legislative," where the king had taken refuge with his family. Cowed by manifest threats, the "Legislative" decreed the deposition of the king, and the calling of a "National Convention" to decide the future form of government. Monarchy had fallen ignobly, not even fighting.

**236. *The Convention and the massacres.*** The rest of France ratified the action of Paris. What else could be done, while the public enemy was pressing forward victoriously? At the moment there was no really lawful government; but the "**Commune of Paris**" (the municipal council of the capital) in a measure took its place. Its members, such as **Robespierre**, represented the most advanced theorists of France. All chances of a reaction in favor of monarchy were destroyed by the rigorous enforcement of martial law. Tremendous efforts were put forth to stop the advancing Germans. **Danton**, the great radical and the ablest of his party, voiced the unflinching spirit with which these new masters of the State confronted the foreign danger. "**Audacity, and again audacity, and ever audacity, and France is saved!**" rang his summons.<sup>1</sup>

But Danton was not a man to stop with nice means. The prisons of Paris were full of nobles and "Constitutionalists,"<sup>2</sup> who might hope for release and revenge if carelessly guarded. "We must make the aristocrats fear," are the sinister words imputed to Danton. A gang of ruffians of his party knew their business. Between September 2 and 7, over one thousand

<sup>1</sup> Danton was a radical, but rather as a chieftain of the "Mountain," the general radical group in the Convention, than as a leading spirit among the Jacobins, the ultra-radicals. There was a certain saneness in all that Danton did, which marked him off from headlong extremists like Robespierre.

<sup>2</sup> Champions of the defunct constitution of 1791.



prisoners were taken from the Paris prisons and massacred, practically in cold blood.<sup>1</sup> The aristocrats did, indeed, fear. Not a hand was raised to stop the massacre.

And now, late in September, the "Legislative" gave way to the third great parliamentary body of the Revolution, — the "**Convention**," — 749 members elected by manhood suffrage, at a time when moderate men had been silenced, and when the booming of Austrian guns had made almost every Frenchman into a radical. The new body had been gathered to give France another form of government, the 1791 constitution being already cast into the rubbish heap; but the making of a constitution was slow work, and there was much needing immediate attention. For the next three years the Convention itself practically governed France.

**237. *The death of the king (1793).*** Louis XVI, dethroned and a prisoner, had yet to be dealt with, and the Girondist faction (temporarily in the ascendant in the Convention) were inclined toward mercy: their clever orators talked eloquently of founding the new republic bloodlessly on "love"; but their political cohesion and adroitness was far less than that of the Jacobins, who were resolved on the king's death. What better proof of the devotion of France for her newly gained "equality" than sending Louis to the scaffold? — "Let us," Danton exclaimed, "cast down before Europe, as a gauntlet of battle, the head of a king!" There could be only one solution to the problem in such a moment. On January 8, 1793, Louis was ordered of immediate death, by a majority of one vote.<sup>2</sup> **On January 21, he was guillotined on the great square in Paris,**

<sup>1</sup> There is no proof, though there is considerable presumption, that these deeds were inspired by Danton.

<sup>2</sup> Louis was charged substantially with treason to France in the war against Austria and Prussia. There is good reason for believing that he would have regarded the victory of the allies with equanimity; but in truth he must be judged as a man in an almost intolerable position, from whom any very strict moral accounting was impossible.



the Place de la Concorde; dying very nobly and bravely, and making truly a kingly end after a life marked by many good intentions but more blunders.

**238. *The war with all Europe (1792-95).*** The execution of the king was, indeed, a proclamation to all Europe that a new and terrible war had engulfed the nations, a war very different from the selfish dynastic struggles between ambitious kings. For the moment it had earlier seemed as if the ill-led French armies would collapse before the disciplined invaders. But good fortune and patriotism had fought for the French. At **Valmy**, after an ineffectual cannonade on September 20, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick (the allies' general) found himself checked, and presently was driven to retreat. **The new Republican armies soon took the offensive** and seized Belgium and many posts along the Rhine. A decree thereupon passed by the Convention, ordering the annexation of Belgium, gave vast offense to England;<sup>1</sup> and that great country speedily joined in the war. Another decree of the Convention, ordering its generals to proclaim the "sovereignty of the people" and the abolition of feudal privileges wherever the French arms went, seemed the proclamation of an intention of spreading "revolutionary principles" through all Europe. The execution of Louis drove every brother monarch into a frenzy: practically every other Christian state in Europe declared war upon France. It appeared inevitable that she should be crushed by a vast coalition. She was assailed on every coast, on every border at once.

But in all human annals there is no finer example of patriotic self-sacrifice than that which the French now displayed. The grim and resolute men who had seized the Paris Government developed in this crisis marvelous efficiency. A remorseless conscription swept the youth of France into the armies; fac-

<sup>1</sup> The English feared that the great port of Antwerp in French hands would be a standing menace to their maritime supremacy.



# EUROPE IN 1789.

Lands added to France by the Treaty of Basel.

(What is marked Belgium was part of the Austrian Netherlands in 1789, and Holland was, properly, The United Netherlands.)

Kingdom of Sardinia









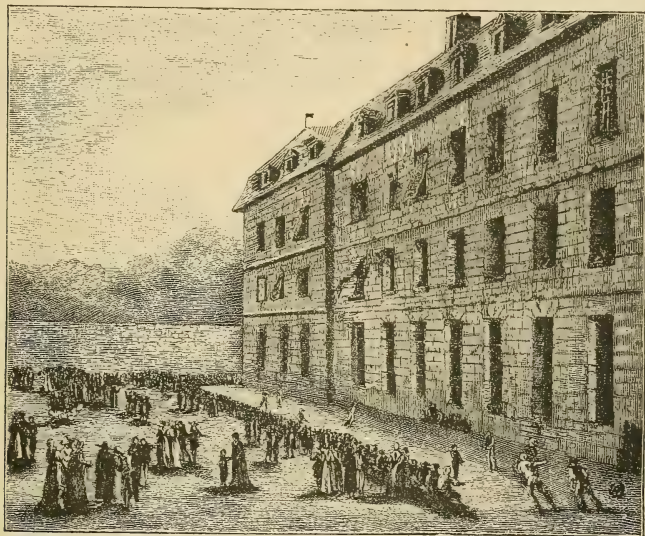
tories were turned into arsenals; church bells were melted into cannon. The heroism and "élan" of the young French recruits, who charged to battle convinced that they were summoned to die for "**Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity**" and for "**the Rights of Man**," proved more than a match for the ill-paid mercenaries of the old-line monarchical armies. The admirable fighting qualities of the French privates and sub-officers more than made up for frequently mediocre generalship. Above all, at Paris there was a great war-minister, **Carnot**, "**the organizer of victory**," who, though not a great strategist himself, managed everything, inspired the fourteen armies, collected munitions, and made the success in the field possible. To summarize this colossal war is impossible. By a prodigious exertion the Republic actually put 750,000 men, arrayed in thirteen separate armies, in the field at once — forces such as no power in Europe had ever armed before. The French were sometimes beaten, but never ruined. A coalition greater than that which had overwhelmed Louis XIV now recoiled before the patriotism of a free nation. In June, 1794, the great battle of **Fleurus** practically delivered Belgium a second time to France<sup>1</sup> and put the allies everywhere upon the defensive. Once confronted with disaster, the allied kings began to remember their old jealousies amongst themselves. The great coalition commenced to dissolve. In 1795, Prussia made the **Peace of Basel** with France: Austria and England might continue the war, but the fear of a foreign army in Paris was ended.

**239. *The Committee of Public Safety and the Terror.*** While the youth of France were defending their country against a perfect girdle of foes, terrible scenes were being enacted at Paris and elsewhere. The foreign peril, the fears of a cruel reaction led by the outraged royalists, seemed to justify placing the whole country under a species of martial law. Shortly

<sup>1</sup> The French had been driven from the country after their first successes in 1792.



after the execution of the king, the Convention established a kind of executive committee, — the famous "**Committee of Public Safety**," — at first of nine, later of twelve, members, to whom were entrusted practically the entire resources of France. The ordinary ministers were reduced to insignificance beside this body. It became the mainspring of the armed Revolution, and it was not long before its members were drawn



COURTYARD OF A PRISON DURING THE TERROR

Note the games being played by the prisoners. (*After a painting by Hubert Robert in the Musée Carnavalet*)

almost wholly from the most radical of all the Republican factions — the Jacobins.

In the name of general safety, the Committee and the Convention resorted to the most drastic measures. Besides ordering a wholesale conscription for the army, desperate expedients were invoked to fend off famine and bankruptcy. There was a general scarcity of provisions in Paris. The answer was the famous "**Law of the Maximum**," fixing the highest price



at which necessary commodities might be sold. The penalty for violation was, in extreme cases, death. Long since the Government had drifted into the meshes of paper money (it was so easy to make the printing-press strike off substitutes for gold!). To refuse to accept "**assignats**" (the Revolutionary paper currency) was now also made punishable by death. Against "**emigrants**" (exiled nobles beyond the frontiers). against all men suspected of conspiracy to produce reaction at home, there was only one remedy. The exiles might not return under penalty of death; while all persons in France were made liable to imprisonment (with excellent chances of execution) if "suspected" of ill will toward the Republic. By such laws the prisons were filled and disaffection was silenced.

At first, indeed, there was discord, in the Convention, between the Girondists and the more violent Jacobins. The Girondists represented more the deliberate opinion of the departments; the Jacobins found their best support in the noisy and irresponsible crowds of Paris, who swarmed the galleries of the Convention, howled down the moderate orators, and applauded the speakers who declared that "the people were weary of having their happiness postponed," and who then coolly assumed that the Parisian mob was entitled to speak for the entire nation. The Girondists had eloquence and noble zeal upon their side, but they were bad politicians and lost control both of the Convention and the situation in Paris. On June 2, armed insurgents surrounded the hall of the Convention and the frightened members were coerced into voting the leading Girondists under arrest. The radicals had now almost complete possession of the Government.

And now began the famous "**Reign of Terror.**" The Jacobins were no doubt honest in saying that they desired the happiness of France and a reign of liberty and humanity, but they were hopeless radicals, willing to believe *themselves* the sole possessors of patriotism and civic virtue, and that any critic



was *ipso facto* a traitor. In handling the military situation they displayed enormous ability;<sup>1</sup> in dealing with the economic crisis they resorted to the desperate financial measures just described; but they knew all the while (though they hardly confessed it) that they were really only a minority in France, and ever growing more of a minority as their program became more radical. At first men had been denounced as "aristocrats," or "constitutionalists";<sup>2</sup> now they were damned by being styled "**moderates**," or charged with "incivism," i.e., opposing or supporting feebly the extreme Jacobin program.

What that program really embraced was never fully defined. Probably it would have ended in the complete establishment of economic as well as of political equality for all Frenchmen, and certainly in the later stages of the movement the Jacobins cried out against the rich, not because they were reactionary, but simply because they were rich. "**The poor man**," spoke Robespierre, who seemed to be the mouthpiece for his party, "**alone is virtuous, wise, and fitted to govern.**"

To silence opposition to their régime the Jacobins deliberately inaugurated a system of "Terror." On October 16, 1793, Marie Antoinette followed her husband to the scaffold, facing the end with a heroism which partly atoned for many past mistakes. Speedily after her, twenty-one of the Girondist leaders were executed, and many others of unquestioned zeal for a moderate republic followed them. A "Revolutionary Tribunal" was set up, before which each day a certain number of wretches were dragged from the prisons and condemned (or in exceptional cases acquitted) after farcically irregular trials.

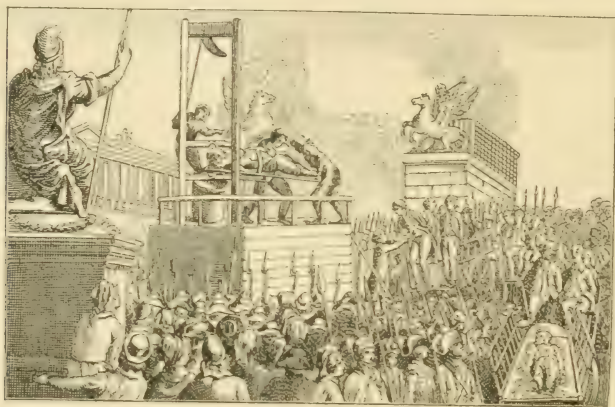
From October, 1793, to the end of July, 1794, "Terror was the Order of the Day," in Paris; and similar awful tribunals kept up their work in many of the provincial towns. Under

<sup>1</sup> See section 238.

<sup>2</sup> Partisans of the 1791 constitution.



the guillotine<sup>1</sup> perished several thousands of the best lives in France; for it was the intelligent and well-to-do who naturally awakened the most suspicion. "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" so cried the high-minded Madame Roland, an ardent Republican and Girondist when she stood to take her place at the guillotine. Yet all the while the Jacobin chiefs and many of their satellites in the Parisian mob



THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK

Note the statue of liberty opposite the instrument. (*After an anonymous engraving*)

believed quite honestly that by this remorseless policy they were leading France to happiness.

**240. *The revolts against the Jacobins.*** The fearful energy of the Jacobins will be better understood when it is realized that, besides the foreign war, at the same time they had to fight desperate rebellions within France. Many Girondist deputies did not submit to arrest with their fellows, but escaped to their

<sup>1</sup> The guillotine was a mechanical device invented at this time to take the place of the old headsman's block and axe. Despite the gruesome mutilation of the victim, it was an extremely humane and painless instrument. "The Republican Razor," it was called by the calloused creatures who daily watched the public butcheries.



homes in the departments and organized revolts. The Jacobins had to stamp out uprisings in Normandy and in the extreme south, while Lyons (the second city of France) also rose against them. A fearful punishment was inflicted when it was forced to surrender. A military commission condemned the numerous prisoners taken, and is asserted to have had them shot down in batches of 200 to 300 at a time. In five months the population of Lyons is declared to have fallen from 130,000 to 80,000.<sup>1</sup> But hardest of all for the Jacobins was **the revolt of the Peasants in La Vendée**,<sup>2</sup> who, pious, conservative, and led by their priests, waged a desperate guerilla war in behalf of the king. The Vendéan rebels were still in revolt when the Jacobins were cast from power at Paris.

**241. *The fall of Danton, and the dictatorship of Robespierre.*** In 1789, the great majority of Frenchmen had rejoiced in the downfall of despotism; in 1792, probably less than half of the nation was really enthusiastic for a republic; by 1794, only a waning minority were in favor of the Jacobin program, which virtually branded every man with good clothes and refined social manners as a "bad citizen." The Jacobin leaders of the Convention had run to hopeless absurdities.<sup>3</sup> They had abolished the accustomed calendar as a souvenir of "the days of despotism," and established a new "**Republican Calendar**" with the year "one" to date from the era (1792) when France

<sup>1</sup> Recent criticism happily has seemed to reduce the number of the victims, but in any case they were hideously numerous.

<sup>2</sup> The region near the mouth of the Loire.

<sup>3</sup> Amid all the storm and stress under which it labored, and despite many absurd pieces of legislation, it must, in fairness, be noted that the Convention enacted a great body of wise measures which told for the weal of France; — some of these were, (1) the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures; (2) the beginning of drawing up a legal code (a task to be completed by Napoleon); (3) the abolition of slavery in the French colonies; (4) the initiation of a general system of education for France; (5) a much-needed reform of the hospitals and prisons.

It is very easy to find materials for extreme blame and extreme praise in dealing with the leaders of "the First Republic."



became a republic.<sup>1</sup> Against the Christian religion, as part of the old order of "slavery," the bitterest hostility was shown. It had become practically impossible to attend or to minister in Christian worship and not become at least "suspect." Frenchmen could not endure these conditions forever. The foreign enemy had been repelled from the frontiers: it was high time to end this terrible régime of martial law at home.

Under these circumstances, some of the clearest and coolest heads among the original Terrorists, notably Danton, began to talk of moderation; but "moderation" was a very unwelcome word to the extreme theorists who now controlled the Committee of Public Safety, and at whose bidding the frightened Convention voted one bloody decree after another. In April, 1794, Robespierre, seemingly, at least, the dominator of the Government, struck a blow which told all France that the mere suggestion of abating the activities of the guillotine was perilous. **Danton** — the incarnation of aggressive Republicanism — **was sent to the scaffold**. For the next four months Robespierre seemed the virtual dictator of France. A considerable fraction of the Paris mob was willing to defend him; otherwise he was submitted to out of mere physical terror. France seemed to have abolished her stately old monarchy to substitute for it a ruthless Oriental tyranny.

**242. The downfall of Robespierre.** Robespierre was himself a strange compound of infirmity and virtue. He made boasts, probably sincere, of his patriotism, incorruptibility, and high ideals. He and his friend, Saint-Just, dreamed of a republic in which all men and women should be happy, virtuous, and equal. Christianity was to be abolished, but temples to the "**Supreme Being**" were to abound everywhere. In this program were many noble theories and projects derived from

<sup>1</sup> The months were named according to their climatic characteristics; e.g., Thermidor (heat month) took the place of July 19 to August 18. To get rid of the "slave-style" Christian Sabbaths, periods of ten days were substituted for weeks, the tenth day to be a general holiday.



the old Greek philosophers. Robespierre, in short, would have been a harmless, impractical philanthropist, save for two capital facts, — he appeared to dominate the French Government, and he believed that any person who hesitated in the least before his program was worthy of death. The best witness to the fearful nature of his rule is the fact that in seven weeks during his alleged dictatorship, 1376 persons died under the guillotine in Paris.<sup>1</sup> The amazing thing, indeed, is that a theorist of this kind should have seemed to control a great Government for so long a time.

The end drew near when even Robespierre's most intimate associates began to fear for their own lives. On the 8th of June, 1794, the arch-Jacobin had reached the crowning moment of his career. At his demand the Convention had voted that "the French nation recognizes the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul." Now, in a great fête to the Supreme Being, Robespierre walked first in the procession as president of the ceremonies, "dressed in a sky-blue coat and holding in his hand a large bunch of flowers, fruit, and corn." Acting thus as a kind of high priest, he set fire to effigies representing "Atheism" and "Egoism," while, as they blazed, a figure of "Wisdom" rose out of the flames, "Republican" hymns were sung, and the ground was scattered over with flowers by children: — and the next day the guillotine continued its work.

By this time the Revolutionary Tribunal had become a mere organ for ordering the execution of so many prisoners per day, with hardly the simulacrum of a trial. No man's life was now safe; and at length the Convention turned suddenly at bay, made brave by selfish fear. On July 27, 1794, long recorded as the famous "**9th Thermidor**," Saint-Just, and next

<sup>1</sup> There is a theory, which is finding increasing acceptance among scholars, that Robespierre was really the tool of the "strong silent men" managing the armies, who found the Terror a convenient means of controlling the military situation.



his bosom friend, Robespierre, were howled down in the Convention when they strove to speak.

"Down, down with the tyrant!" pealed the yell. Vainly Robespierre pleaded to be heard. "The blood of Danton chokes thee!" one member is said to have flung at him. With three friends the fallen dictator was placed under arrest: the old Jacobin faction among the Paris mob released them from prison, but before they could organize an insurrection, they were again seized, and the end came quickly. Robespierre died under the guillotine, with a hundred of his partisans. With this last slaughter of its instigators the real "Terror" slackened and declined.

243. *The "Third" Constitution and the whiff of grapeshot (1795).* France needed rest. It was impossible to restore normal conditions immediately: war still raged on the frontiers; a thousand local feuds rent every town and hamlet asunder; but **the wholesale executions could at least be stopped**,<sup>1</sup> and the prisons presently were emptied of all but the probably guilty.

The Convention was now again dominated by moderate Republicans. Various outlawed members of the old Girondist Party returned. During the Terrorist period a constitution had been drawn up for the country, but it had never been put into effect, and now it seemed altogether too radical in the light of woeful experience. Accordingly still another constitution was prepared, the so called "Third" Constitution,<sup>2</sup> and while not an ideal document it betrayed at least some attempt to improve the lessons learned in the school of adversity. For example, besides a list of the "Rights of Man," so much emphasized earlier, a list was also given of the "Duties of Man"; also a fairly firm executive government was provided

<sup>1</sup> The historian Taine has reckoned, it is to be hoped with some exaggeration, that 17,000 persons perished in France, in Paris or in the Departments, during the whole period of Terrorist Government.

<sup>2</sup> The constitution of 1791 was the "First"; the "Second" was the discarded Jacobin effort.



in a **Directory of five persons**, one member to retire every year, and thus the whole to be renewed every five years.<sup>1</sup> There was to be a legislature of two houses, the "Five Hundred" and the "Ancients"<sup>2</sup> (250 members), each to be renewed by one third of their number annually. The Legislature was to enact the laws; the Directors (who had no veto) were to execute them, to control the armies, and transact generally the affairs of Government through their ministers.

This constitution was not an impossible one, but it was coupled with a proviso which drove many Frenchmen to fury. A great reaction was sweeping over the land. The Convention knew there was a strong movement to restore the exiled Bourbons.<sup>3</sup> To insure against a reactionary revolution, it was provided that two thirds of the first legislature, under the new scheme, must be chosen from the members of the Convention.

It was this provision which put Paris again in an uproar. The downfall of Robespierre had been followed by a great return of royalist spirit. In very many quarters the idea of even a moderate republic was now held in open detestation. The reactionaries had prospered so far as to gain control of the Paris National Guard, and on October 5, 1795, its battalions, 20,000 strong, were directed against the hall of the hated Convention. To check this attack the delegates had only about 4000 regular troops,<sup>4</sup> but they entrusted the command to an active fellow member, Barras. The latter bethought him of the aid of a young artillery officer who had recently distin-

<sup>1</sup> The Directors were to be elected by the "Ancients" out of a list submitted by the "Five Hundred."

<sup>2</sup> They had to be forty years of age.

<sup>3</sup> The luckless little son of Louis XVI, the so-called "Louis XVII," died in captivity in Paris, June 8, 1795. The cruel neglect whereof this helpless boy of ten was the victim is one of the foulest blots upon the Revolutionists. The successor to the royalist claims was now the eldest brother of Louis XVI, who took the style of "Louis XVIII."

<sup>4</sup> In the regular army, in which ardent Republicans naturally enlisted, anti-royalist sentiments burned hot, long after they had ceased to glow in the rest of France.



guished himself against the English at the siege of Toulon. This young man hastily secured a strong battery of guns from the suburbs, and disposed and used it so well that the insurgents were mowed down helplessly when they strove to storm the Convention. "**The whiff of grapeshot**" was sufficient. The delegates and the Republic were saved. The name of their savior was **Napoleon Bonaparte**.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — The States General; Cahiers; Abbé Siéyès; the Oath of the Tennis-Court; Mirabeau; the Bastille; National Guards; Varennes; "Emigrants"; Girondists; Jacobins; Commune of Paris; Robespierre; Danton; Valmy; Carnot; Committee of Public Safety; Law of the Maximum; Assignats; Reign of Terror; Incivism; 9th Thermidor; the "Whiff of Grapeshot."
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Versailles; Varennes; Marseilles; Valmy; Lyons; La Vendée.
  - (b) Mark the regions added to France by the Peace of Basel.
3. What was the immediate occasion of the summoning of the States General?
4. Note the different events in the Revolution which go to prove that there was "little previous political experience" in France.
5. Why did not the king dissolve the States General after the "Royal Session" on June 23? Compare his motive with that of Charles I of England in relation to the Long Parliament.
6. Why was the destruction of the Bastille significant?
7. What were the important features in which the constitutions of 1791 and 1795 differed?
8. How did the attempt to reform the Church affect the "Revolution" movement? Compare with the effect of the attack upon the Episcopal Church made in the Long Parliament in England.
9. Valmy is counted as one of the "decisive battles" by Creasy. Why?
10. Why was it that conditions similar to the "Reign of Terror" did not develop in England after the execution of Charles I?

## EXERCISES

1. Compare the principles stated in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" (1789) with corresponding principles in the "Virginia Bill of Rights" (United States, 1776).



2. Mirabeau.
3. The Bastille.
4. Lafayette.
5. The night of August 4.
6. The Constitution of 1791.
7. The September massacres.
8. The execution of Louis XVI. Was it justified ? Compare with that of Charles I of England.
9. The battle of Valmy.
10. The Peace of Basel.
11. The Reign of Terror.
12. Danton and Robespierre.
13. Make a summary showing the social, economic, and political changes accomplished by the Revolution.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 394-417.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 106-49. Duruy: pp. 535-65. Lodge: chapters XXII, XXIII, sections 1-20. Pattison: pp. 358-62. Lewis: pp. 548-57. Robinson and Beard: vol. 1, pp. 224-84.



## CHAPTER XXXIII

### HOW NAPOLEON BONAPARTE OVERTURNED THE OLD EUROPE

**244. *The youth and early career of Napoleon.*** For the next twenty years the history of Europe can almost be summed up in the biography of a single man. No other secular individual in modern times<sup>1</sup> has cast his shadow so broadly over the nations as did Napoleon Bonaparte. He has been lauded as a demigod; he has been execrated as a fiend; but neither friends nor detractors have denied to him the unique position he holds in modern history.

Napoleon Bonaparte is commonly spoken of as a Frenchman. As a matter of fact, he came from the decidedly Italianized isle of **Corsica**. In 1768, the weak Republic of Genoa ceded Corsica to France; and in 1769, Napoleon was born at Ajaccio. We can best understand his character by thinking of him as being only a Frenchman by adoption, and of having in him much of the passionate, violent, imaginative spirit and genius of the Mediterranean peoples.

Napoleon's parents seem to have been of respectable but not wealthy condition.<sup>2</sup> The lad early betrayed a liking for military matters; and after he had learned a little French he was sent to the mainland, to the military academy at Brienne (1779). His life there was unhappy and undistinguished, and he complained bitterly of the way the sons of rich French noblemen lorded it over him. In time, he became a second lieutenant in the army, but his first real activities were in an

<sup>1</sup> Nor in ancient times, except possibly Alexander and Julius Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> His father, Carlo Bonaparte, boasted himself a nobleman, and busied himself as a lawyer of some local importance.



obscure attempt to participate in an insurrection of the Corsicans against the French. The plot failed; but though Bonaparte luckily was not quite compromised enough to be branded as a traitor, every avenue to promotion seemed barred against him. In 1793, however, he had command of the artillery in the siege of Toulon, and it was then, thanks to him, that the British fleet was driven from the harbor and a most important city restored to France. Now (1796) the grateful Directory, after his services in Paris,<sup>1</sup> gave him **command of the Army of Italy**. The discontented cadet had at length met his opportunity. He was only twenty-seven.

245. *The "First Italian Campaign" (1796-97)*. Italy was a congeries of petty states, but the main factors were the Kingdom of Sardinia<sup>2</sup> (nearest to France) and the provinces of Austria. Bonaparte was given the task of taking a relatively small and disorganized army, crossing the Alps, forcing the Sardinians to beg for peace, and then of driving the Austrians out of Italy as well as intimidating simultaneously the Papal States and all the other lesser Powers which might take sides against France.

Once entrusted with the task, the young artillery officer displayed a superabounding energy; and — secret of his success — was able to communicate his spirit of energy to all about him. Veteran officers ceased to sneer at the "youth," and strove their uttermost to execute his orders. The whole army was infused with his spirit of restless daring and ambition. Of all Bonaparte's military undertakings, none was more successful or more characteristic than this "First Italian Campaign."

With 49,000 men, badly equipped but brave and hardy, Bonaparte had to cross the Alps and attack some 60,000 Sardinian and Austrian veterans, resting in strong positions

<sup>1</sup> See chapter XXXII, section 243.

<sup>2</sup> For the extent of the King of Sardinia's dominions on the mainland, see map of "Europe in 1789."



sustained by great fortresses. In April, 1796, he entered Italy. Within two months the King of Sardinia had cried "enough." Within a year mighty Austria had also been driven to sue for



ITALY IN 1798

peace. At the outset Bonaparte had fired the hearts of his men by the kind of promises dear to his ragged Republican volunteers. "Soldiers, I am to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. There you will find honor, glory, and riches";



and immediately he had put into effect his four great military maxims: "Divide for finding provisions; concentrate to fight; unity of command is necessary for success; time<sup>1</sup> is everything."

Briefly stated, Bonaparte won his successes by **always taking the offensive** and keeping his foes so busy meeting the shock of his blows that they were utterly unable to arrange a counter-stroke; or again, by inducing them to divide their forces while keeping his own concentrated, and so destroying the enemy piecemeal. In addition Bonaparte owed a vast deal to the admirable fighting qualities of his men. The spirit of Republican fanaticism which had led to the Jacobin Terror at Paris made now for dauntless heroism when translated to the battlefield. And Bonaparte knew how to win the hearts and imaginations of his men as have few generals, as at Lodi (1796), where the desperate and victorious charge in which he rushed with the foremost across the bridge over the Adda made "the little corporal" the idol of the soldiery.

In the spring of 1797, after desperate fighting around Mantua (the Austrian stronghold) and the fall of that fortress, Bonaparte was able to force his way over the Eastern Alps, and was only two days' march from Vienna when the defeated "Holy Roman" Emperor asked for an armistice.

**246. The Treaty of Campo Formio (1797).** After various negotiations France made peace with Austria by the **Treaty of Campo Formio**. That compact was substantially arranged and directed by Bonaparte, despite the fact that he was nominally only a general in the service of the five Directors. The treaty was practically a notification to the world that Republican France had shaken off the tremendous attack of the old monarchies and was now about to give the law in turn to them. **Austria ceded Belgium outright to France.** She gave up her North Italian possessions to be made into a "**Cisalpine**

<sup>1</sup> That is, rapidity of movements.



**Republic**" (inevitably dependent upon France). In a secret article she agreed to allow France to keep the territory west of the Rhine which she had seized from the lesser German princes. As a compensation for these great losses, Austria was to receive the territory of the old (and now degenerate and feeble) Republic of Venice, which was thus blotted from the map.<sup>1</sup>

**247. The naval power of England.** The defeat of Austria seemed to put all Europe at the feet of France and her brilliant young general, who was already recognized as a political power of whom the Directors might well feel jealous. But there was one nation which the French had not yet defeated — England; and a large part of Bonaparte's career was to be consumed in a fruitless effort to humble the "Mistress of the Seas."

The Revolution had disorganized the French navy sadly. Courage and enthusiasm may win bayonet charges in land battles, though discipline be lacking, but calm skill and careful organization are absolutely necessary for the conduct of fleets. Ill-equipped, ill-manned, and very ill-commanded as the French ships were, it is not surprising that the story of the naval war between France and England was one story of French defeats. By 1797, Spain and Holland had been induced to enter into alliance with France against the English, but even this could not turn the scale. Off **Cape St. Vincent** (1797) fifteen British ships-of-the-line, under Admiral Jervis and Commodore **Nelson**, defeated twenty-seven Spanish men-of-war. Six months later, Admiral Duncan overwhelmed a Dutch fleet at **Camperdown**. After these battles it seemed impossible to dispute British naval supremacy. The sea-power of Britain enabled her to seize the colonies of France, to raid her coasts, to capture her merchantmen, and to draw a line of blockaders

<sup>1</sup> In 1797, after making the armistice with Austria, Bonaparte had deliberately picked a quarrel with Venice and forced its helpless Government to surrender the city and country to France. He now used Venice as a sop to throw to Austria. This is an early instance of the lack of scruple and the immorality which marked Bonaparte's statecraft.



around her ports, ruining French commerce. The failure of the Republic to meet the English upon the seas left English commerce (and consequently English wealth) practically untouched. As a result, although the English army did not seem dangerous, English subsidies put heart into the enemies of France on the Continent, created new combinations of Powers against her; in short, undid half the work of Bonaparte's victories.

If the triumph of France was to be complete, she must at all costs humiliate England.

**248. *The Egyptian Expedition (1798-99).*** Bonaparte had returned to Paris from Italy to be received with all the ardent enthusiasm which rejoicing Frenchmen can show for a hero. "Go capture the giant corsair [England] that infests the seas!" cried Barras, the Director, when he embraced him. And, indeed, the mediocre Directors would gladly have sent him away on some distant and risky enterprise. There was not room in the Paris Government offices for one man so great as he and five men so small as they.

Bonaparte was like-minded with them — that **the real foe of France was England**. But Bonaparte had also much of the dreamer and the adventurer in his make-up. The strength of England was in her commerce, largely in the vast wealth she drew from India. Would not the seizure of Egypt put France squarely across the best road to India,<sup>1</sup> and



A FRENCH INFANTRYMAN  
(After a contemporary engraving)

<sup>1</sup> The regular route to India was, of course, at this time (seventy-one years before the opening of the Suez Canal) via the long voyage around the Cape of



with a firm grip on Egypt would not the conquest of the golden Indies be inevitable? The project appealed to Bonaparte. While peace lasted with Austria and Prussia, there was little chance for him to use his talents nearer home; and the Directors willingly aided him to assemble warships and transports for a romantic expedition to Egypt.

With 35,000 men he sailed from Toulon. By good fortune he evaded the English fleet waiting to waylay him. On the voyage he seized Malta from its possessors, the helpless Knights of St. John. Arriving at Alexandria, he disembarked, and the disciplined valor of the French easily overcame the resistance of the Mamelukes, the Mohammedan rulers of Egypt. The country was soon in his hands, and Bonaparte showed his ability and versatility in dealing with the Moslem sheiks, winning their good will, and even affecting a half-readiness to support the doctrines of Islam. He had not been long, however, in Egypt ere a great disaster overtook him. The English destroyed his fighting fleet.

Nelson had been cruising the Mediterranean with his squadron, seeking the French battleships. Bad information and head winds had hitherto baffled him. Now he discovered the French anchored in **Aboukir Bay**,<sup>1</sup> in shoal water and seemingly well protected by the land. But with a calculating daring that proved him the prince of British seamen, Nelson ran his ships through the shoals and laid them alongside the French. Numerically the forces were about equal; but the English had caught their enemies anchored and nigh helpless. **Nearly the whole French fleet was destroyed**, and Bonaparte's expedition was crippled.

"We are condemned to do something great!" declared the French general on hearing the news. He led his men into the

Good Hope, but the strategic value and commercial possibilities of Egypt were entirely recognized. Bonaparte had already conceived the idea of a Suez Canal, and carried instructions with him from France to create such a canal if possible.

<sup>1</sup> This battle is also often called "the battle of the Nile."



Turkish province of Palestine, won victories, but failed to make any real conquests. Presently news reached him from France which caused him to forsake his army, and escape on one of his remaining frigates homeward.<sup>1</sup>

**249. *Napoleon First Consul* (1799–1804).** The Government of the Directory had not been an absolute failure; but it had been only a very moderate success. Twice the Directors had quarreled amongst themselves, and the majority had expelled the minority. Their régime was very unpopular, and not without blunders. In 1799, they found most of Europe again in coalition against them, the so-called “Second Coalition” (Russia, Austria, England, Turkey, Naples, Portugal). In the campaigns that followed, the French won several victories, but there was no Bonaparte present to guarantee continual success. France was somewhat upon the defensive, when Bonaparte landed again from Egypt (October 9, 1799).



A FRENCH DRAGOON OF THE  
TIME OF THE CONSULATE

(After a water-color by General  
*Lejeune*)

The time was ripe for a bold stroke, and the ambitious Corsican was no man to hesitate. The Directory was hated for its inefficiency and tyranny: it was also at open variance with the Legislature. Three of the Directors actually connived at the final deed which was the upshot of the intrigues into which Bonaparte had plunged after his return to Paris. On November 11, 1799, the “Council of Five Hundred” was broken

<sup>1</sup> The army which he thus abandoned, somewhat ingloriously, held out in Egypt until 1801, when an English force compelled it to surrender. Bonaparte, however, had taken the majority of his best generals back to France with him.



up by the bayonets of Bonaparte's devoted grenadiers. The "Ancients" concurred now in a proposal to appoint a new provisional government. The result was **another constitution for France**;<sup>1</sup> a constitution which still kept the name and simulacrum of a "republic," while in fact it was a disguised monarchy. There was to be a carefully hampered legislature elected in a most cumbersome and indirect method by a form of popular vote; there was to be a "Senate" of eighty (nominated by the "Consuls," not elected), with certain supervising powers; but practically the entire Government was vested in the **First Consul**,<sup>2</sup> chosen for ten years and master of all the resources of the State in peace and war. "**Citizens**," ran the first proclamation of the new régime, "**the Revolution is finished.**"

The finisher and the new "First Consul" was, of course, Napoleon Bonaparte.

250. *The end of the Holy Roman Empire.* France was weary of revolutions and new constitutions. For the moment, at least, the nation seemed content to forget radical theories and to settle down under the sway of a victorious and almost fearfully intelligent dictator. The First Consul threw all his energies into ending the new war with Austria. Again he invaded Italy and won a new triumph at **Marengo** (1800). In Germany, the French general, Moreau, won a still more decisive victory at **Hohenlinden**.<sup>3</sup> Once more Austria and most of her

<sup>1</sup> The "Fourth Constitution," officially known as the "Constitution of the Year VIII."

<sup>2</sup> The Second and Third Consuls were ornamental creatures with consultative functions only. — "Who shall preside?" asked Sieyès (the provisional second consul) at the first meeting of the three. "Do you not see the general is in the chair?" replied the third consul. That same night Sieyès remarked to his friends, "*Gentlemen! we have a master.*"

<sup>3</sup> Bonaparte regarded this victory won by a lieutenant most jealously. All the real glories must go to himself alone. In 1804, Moreau was accused of sharing in a plot to overturn the Government, and was driven into exile. For a while he resided in America, but in 1813, returned to Europe, took service with the Russians, and was killed in the battle of Dresden.



allies were humbled. The **Peace of Lunéville** (1801) not merely confirmed the pact of Campo Formio, but practically **destroyed the old "Holy Roman Empire."** Twenty-five thousand square miles of once Germanic territory were now ceded to France with their 3,500,000 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Austria also recognized the existence of the **Batavian (Dutch), Helvetian (Swiss), and Ligurian and Cisalpine (North Italian) Republics,** — feeble countries absolutely dominated by France. Bonaparte had, indeed, advanced far on his task of wrecking the old institutions of Europe. The Revolution in France might be ended: outside of France, it had hardly been begun.

In 1802, England and France made the **Peace of Amiens** practically on the basis of the *status quo*.<sup>2</sup> It was a truce rather than a peace: there were many points left at issue, and everything pointed to a new war; but for the moment it untied Bonaparte's hands, and left him free to prosecute ambitious schemes on the Continent and in the French colonies.

In no country was his influence felt more than in Germany. The princes who had lost lands to France had been promised compensation nearer home. Bonaparte sustained them in one of the most famous spoliations in history. In February, 1803, after two years of negotiations in which the German diplomats vied with one another in shameful subservience to French threats and French suggestions, the famous "Enactment of the Delegates of the Empire" was proclaimed.<sup>3</sup> Nearly all the lesser German principalities, including nearly all the prince-bishoprics and forty-two of the forty-eight "Free Cities," were abolished, their lands to be absorbed by their greater neighbors.<sup>4</sup> A few of the petty states escaped annihilation by

<sup>1</sup> This included Belgium, to which Austria had waived her claims in 1797.

<sup>2</sup> Several French islands which the English had seized were, however, to be restored.

<sup>3</sup> This enactment is known officially by the fearful and wonderful German name of "Reichsdeputationshauptschluss."

<sup>4</sup> This process of seizure and confiscation was given the innocent name of



good luck or good management; certain of the greater states — e.g., Bavaria and Baden — received a disproportionate share of the spoils; but in any case the map of Germany was wholly remade. This new Germany was wholly dependent for its form and existence upon Napoleon. The Emperor Francis at Vienna, however, continued to call himself “Holy Roman Emperor” until 1806, when he wisely dropped the title for that of hereditary “Emperor of Austria,” claiming the Hapsburg dominion only.<sup>1</sup> The Empire of Charlemagne and Otto I had met a dishonored end.

**251. *Napoleon, Emperor of the French.*** December 2, 1804, saw a great spectacle in Paris. Every event since the establishment of the “Consulate” had pointed the way to it. **Bonaparte exchanged his dictatorship for an imperial crown.** By the formality of a popular election (3,572,329 to 2569 ran the vote as announced), the “French Republic” became an “Empire”; with Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, its hereditary monarch. There were some forms of popular government retained: a legislature with highly restrained functions; and an occasional chance for the citizens to cast a vote; nevertheless, for all effective purposes, Napoleon, as we shall henceforth call him, was as absolute as Louis XIV.

At his coronation the Pope had been a guest of honor, but Napoleon had placed the crown upon his own head, and with his own hands crowned his wife, Josephine, empress. His title to sovereignty was to rest on his own genius and the favor of his army, not on the confirmation of any hierarchy.

In the very city and land, where ten years earlier Jacobinism had been rampant, was now set up a magnificent court. The brothers and sisters of the poor cadet from Corsica were to be

“Mediatization” (i.e., placing in a dependent position). The unlucky “mediatized” princes kept their private fortunes and social status, but lost all governmental status and powers.

<sup>1</sup> This change took place after the disastrous war with France in 1805 (see section 252), which gave a final blow to the decrepit “Holy Roman Empire.”



kings and queens of dependent nations. His marshals and generals became princes and dukes. Napoleon knew how splendor and glitter could appeal to the French, and that the bulk of the population had never been really fond of the Republic. "You Frenchmen love monarchy. It is the only Government you really like," he remarked; and he took pains that for long his subjects should forget to discuss "Liberty," amid a surfeit of the "Glory" so dear to all their race.

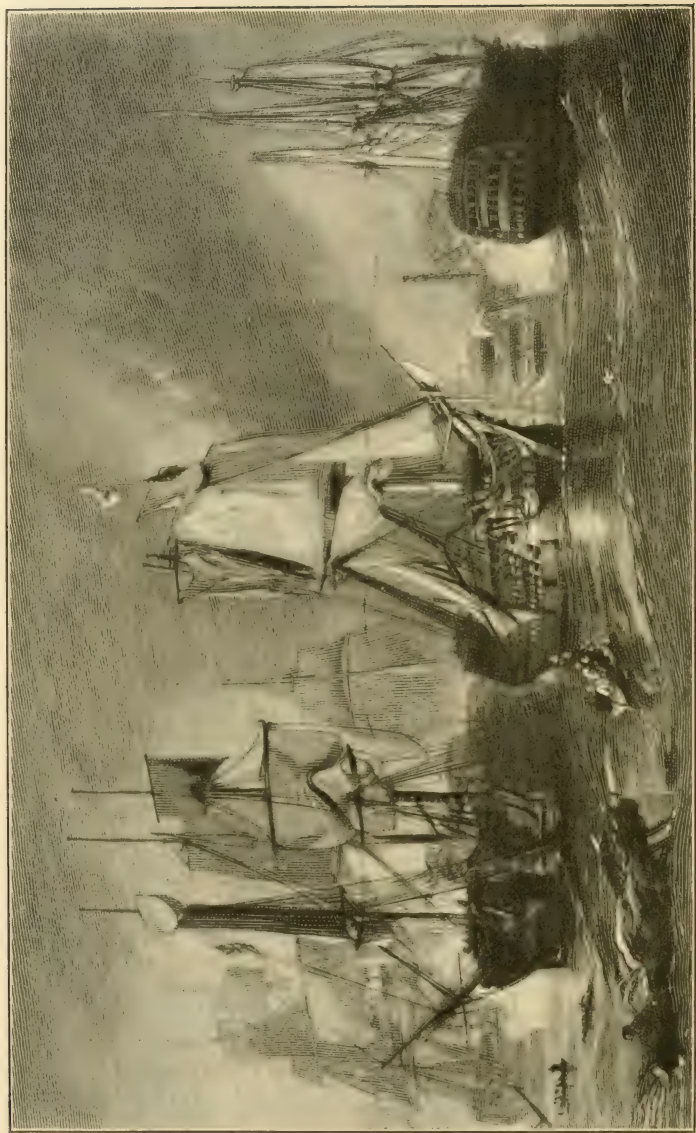
For a number of years the "First Empire" was a tremendous success, and Napoleon the most popular of mortals. Only after a long time did the illusion vanish, the fearful cost of this "glory" become evident, and France begin to repent that she had committed her ways into the keeping of this terrible Titan.

252. *Trafalgar and Austerlitz* (1805). The new dynasty was soon to have its baptism of fire. The peace with England had already ended in new warfare (1803).<sup>1</sup> Now "British gold" had fostered by 1805 a new alliance, the "Third Coalition," against Napoleon. England, Russia, Austria, Sweden, all banded together to "restore" the "Balance of Power" in Europe, so sorely dislocated by this French colossus. Prussia kept sullenly neutral; Spain (feeble and decadent) was allied with France; nevertheless, the odds against Napoleon seemed heavy. The subsequent campaign, however, was to demonstrate that the "Emperor of the French" was no less formidable than the "General of the Republic."

In one great quarter, however, Napoleon was to receive humiliation. Since 1803, he had dreamed of invading England. If he once could land a few corps of his veterans on British soil, he would have "perfidious Albion" upon her knees. To

<sup>1</sup> Each side had charged the other with failing to observe the provisos of the Treaty of Amiens — and each side had been right. Between a jealous commercial nation like England, and a politician and warrior of the overweening ambition of Napoleon, no real peace was, indeed, possible. One or the other must needs be ruined.





THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR  
(Painting by W. C. Stanfield)



this end he had collected a great flotilla of flatboats in the British Channel, to ferry across his army, some lucky day when King George's fleet had been decoyed out to sea or had been shattered in a great battle. That moment never came, and in 1805, Napoleon was glad to divert the "Grand Army" he had assembled for England to the war in Austria. But his French battle-fleet, under the brave but not over-competent Admiral Villeneuve, had joined the allied Spanish squadron; and this united force of thirty-three battleships on October 21, 1806, met twenty-seven English battleships off **Cape Trafalgar**, on the coast of Spain. "England expects every man to do his duty!" had been Nelson's last signal ere his flagship, the *Victory*, charged through the hostile line. Nelson perished, but not before his fleet had won a complete success. Twenty French and Spanish ships were taken or sunk. Never had British seamanship and courage been better vindicated. Her "wooden walls" made England secure henceforth against all the hosts of Napoleon.

Yet, almost simultaneously with this humiliation, came two of Napoleon's greatest land successes. Never had his movements been more rapid or precise; his blows struck to deadlier purpose. October 17, 1805, saw the Austrian general, Mack, surrendering **Ulm** (in Bavaria) with 30,000 men. The French marched in triumph into Vienna. When the demoralized Austrians had been reinforced by the Russians under Czar Alexander, Napoleon won his most brilliant and decisive victory. At **Austerlitz** (December 2), in the "Battle of the Three Emperors," the French swept the allies from the field in rout. Austria could resist no more. The **Peace of Pressburg** tore from her Venetia, which went to Napoleon's new dependent "Kingdom of Italy," and nearer home she had to make large concessions to Bavaria. Russia and England were still hostile, but they were distant or across the seas. Napoleon seemed in a position of unchallenged supremacy.

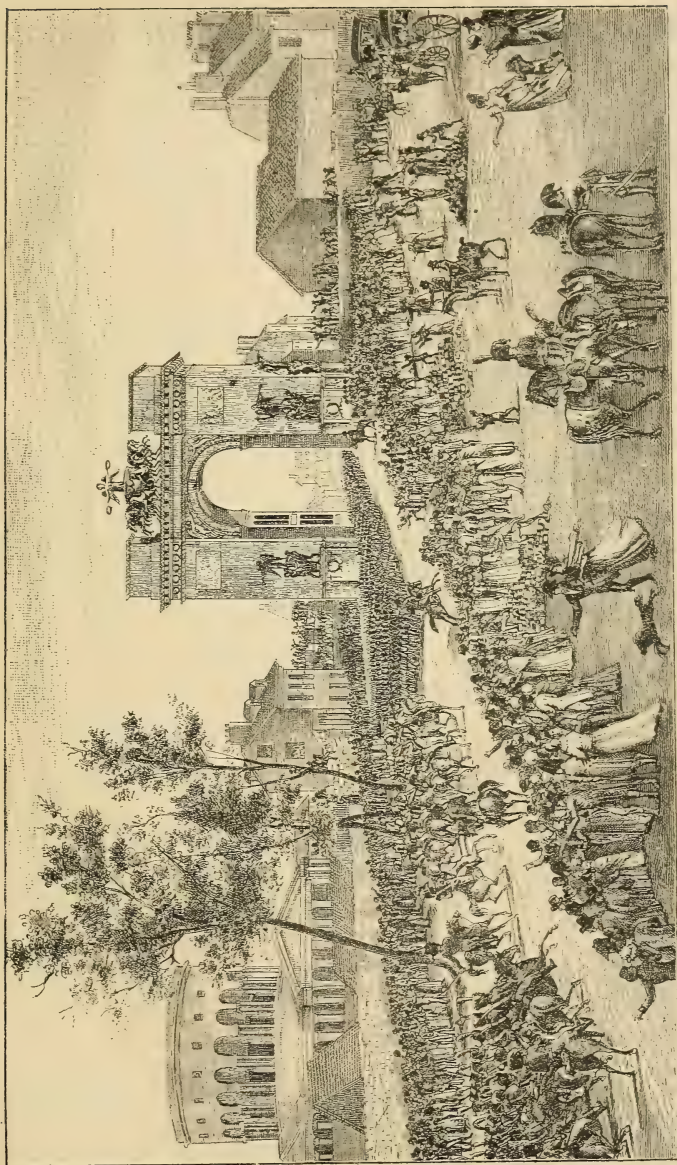


253. *The humiliation of Prussia (1806-07).* One great Power had held back from the "Third Coalition" — Prussia. With her aid the allies might have tipped the scale against France. Her king, Frederick William III, was a well-intentioned but heavy, unimaginative man without a spark of genius. He was surrounded by very incompetent and self-willed ministers. Since 1795, Prussia had been at peace with France, and superficially had prospered. Her army was full of superannuated officers who prided themselves on memories of Frederick the Great's exploits, but who had failed to make the least progress in the art of warfare since his death. Semi-feudal conditions obtained in many parts of the kingdom. The people seemed sluggish, unmodernized, and not very patriotic. With allies Prussia might have counted heavily against Napoleon, but it was madness for her to declare war alone. So long as Austria had been in fighting condition, Napoleon had carefully soothed Frederick William with compliments and concessions; now he deliberately goaded the Prussians into fury by his aggressions along their frontiers and by various acts which they could consider perfidy. In an hour of blind folly, Frederick William declared war with only maritime England and distant Russia for possible helpers.

It was easy to forecast Prussian defeat, but that defeat was astonishingly sudden. "His Majesty the King," a Prussian general had said, "has several generals as good as or superior to Monsieur Bonaparte." They proved their worth at **Jena** (October 14, 1806) when **the Prussian army was utterly routed**<sup>1</sup> by Napoleon's columns and practically the whole kingdom fell into his hands with ease; one fortress after another capitulating with disgraceful haste. The old fighting machine of Frederick the Great had been shattered to bits by the new fighting machine of Napoleon.

<sup>1</sup> The Prussians were not merely defeated, but so absolutely demoralized that their unfortunate king was unable to get them really together for another battle before he had been forced back nearly to the Russian frontier.





NAPOLEON'S RETURN TO PARIS, AFTER THE TREATY OF TILSIT  
(After a painting by Boilly in the Musée Carnavet, Paris)



Czar Alexander presently came to Frederick William's help. The allies made a last stand in the extreme east of the Prussian kingdom. But after the unsuccessful battle of Friedland (1807), the czar would do no more. He was a somewhat fickle, impressionable man, and Napoleon succeeded in filling him with fine notions of dividing the entire world between the "two friendly empires" of Russia and France. The result was the **Peace of Tilsit** (July 9, 1807).

By this treaty Russia lost practically nothing, but **Prussia was almost stricken from the list of great Powers**. She lost all her lands west of the Elbe, and nearly all her annexations at the division of Poland; in short, her territory was reduced from 89,000 to 46,000 square miles. She was later pledged to pay an enormous war indemnity to the French, and not to maintain an army of more than 42,000 men.

The Peace of Tilsit probably marked the culmination of Napoleon's power. He dominated Europe as had no ruler since the passing of the old Roman Empire. Despite the cruelty and selfishness of his policy he had accomplished, on the whole, great good. The rotten institutions of old Europe had been shaken to their bases. What now would take their place?

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Lodi; Treaty of Campo Formio; Battle of the Nile; Second Coalition; Constitution of the year VIII; Peace of Lunéville; the "enactment of the Delegates of the Empire"; Third Coalition; Trafalgar; Austerlitz; Peace of Pressburg; Jena; Peace of Tilsit.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Corsica; Toulon; Mantua; Campo Formio; Camperdown; Malta; Aboukir Bay; Marengo; Lunéville; Amiens; Trafalgar; Ulm; Austerlitz; Jena.
  - (b) Mark the states of Italy in 1798.
3. Make a summary giving the chief events (with dates) in the life of Napoleon; noting the stages of his ascent to power, and how each great campaign affected his fortunes.
4. Describe the work of the English navy from Cape St. Vincent to Trafalgar, showing clearly how that work affected Napoleon's career.



5. Show briefly what events and changes had taken place during the period covered by this chapter in Italy, Austria, Prussia, the German states (aside from Austria and Prussia), and Russia.

### EXERCISES

1. Admiral Nelson.
2. The Peace of Amiens.
3. How far did the court of Napoleon as emperor resemble the French court before the Revolution?
4. The battle of Trafalgar.
5. The battle of Austerlitz.
6. The battle of Friedland.
7. The end of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation."

### READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 418-35.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 145-55, 170-76. Duruy: pp. 566-600. Pattison: pp. 362-81. Lodge: chapter XXIII, sections 21-30; XXIV, sections 1-25. Lewis: pp. 557-82. Robinson and Beard: vol. I, pp. 284-323.



## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

**254. Napoleon at the height of his power.** "The new Charlemagne" seemed to round out his astoundingly ambitious policy in 1808, when, by deliberately trading upon the dissensions existing in the Spanish royal family, he induced the worthless king to abdicate, and when he himself thrust his own brother Joseph upon the venerable throne of Ferdinand and Isabella and Philip II. From this time to 1812 he continued to ordain one annexation or protectorate after another, until "France" and her dependencies covered a large part of the map of Europe.

**The French Empire** (proper), besides old France, now extended to the Rhine, and included, on the north, Holland and the seacoast of Germany up to Denmark. In Italy it embraced a broad strip running along the west coast and including Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Around France ran a kind of fringe of dependent kingdoms, their thrones filled by satellites of their powerful creator. Thus, as seen, **Spain** fell to Joseph, Napoleon's brother; **Westphalia** (in North Germany, a new and arbitrary unit manufactured by Napoleon) to Jerome, a younger brother; **Naples** passed to Murat, a favorite cavalry officer. Most of northern Italy formed the **Kingdom of Italy**, of which Napoleon took the crown himself, but left the immediate government to his capable stepson, the viceroy, Eugène. In Germany most states not already absorbed were yoked together into the "**Confederation**

<sup>1</sup> The helpless Pope (Pius VII) was held a prisoner in France. Napoleon affected to patronize the Catholic Church as a religious organization, but if his régime had lasted, the Church would have been hopelessly dependent upon the secular government.



of the Rhine," with Napoleon as protector. Some of these lesser states the emperor cultivated as harmless and useful allies against Austria or Prussia. Thus the rulers of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg were raised to the proud status of



EUROPE IN 1810

"kings"; and Baden to a "grand duchy." All Germany west of the Rhine was, of course, directly in French hands, and every effort was being made to make the people entirely French in habits and language. French influence was in fact everywhere. No doubt Napoleon dreamed of making the civilization of the European world French, even as it had once been Latin.



It would be a mistake to consider Napoleon a mere destroyer and conqueror. Amid the clash of arms he found time for a great deal of intelligent interest and legislation in behalf of French manufactures, commerce, and agriculture. Soon after gaining power he established the "**University**" — a grand organization of all the higher educational forces in France, putting them under the organized control of the Government. He reformed the paper currency of the Revolution and placed French money on a sound basis. He recalled many royalist exiles, and gave them places of honor in his new governmental machine. His **Code Napoléon** was a marvelously successful codification of French law.<sup>1</sup> If his rule was that of a despot, he at least made it plain that ability, and not merely aristocratic birth or privilege, could command high positions in his Government. Men served him well, for they knew that he was no respecter of persons, and that the rewards for faithful and efficient service were great. "**Every soldier carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack,**" Napoleon is said to have remarked, implying that distinguished military achievement was certain of promotion. Corresponding conditions were true in his civil service.

In 1808, Napoleon's power seemed colossal. By a "concordat" with the Pope, he had even hushed up the much vexed religious question, and restored the Catholic Church to most of its honors. He had yoked supreme ability to supreme good fortune. From this time onward, however, he was to plunge into manifold difficulties, largely of his own making, which led to his downfall.

**255. The Continental Blockade.** Even when Napoleon had forced peace with the bayonet upon all the rest of the world, the war with England continued. This war, however, was one

<sup>1</sup> This Code is still used in France to-day, and with some modifications in many parts of Germany, in Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and the American State of Louisiana.





NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Emperor of the French (1804-15)

Born 1769

Died 1821







in which the emperor felt his right arm tied. Since Trafalgar it was practically impossible for a French fleet to creep beyond the protecting fortress-guns of its home harbor. From the Baltic to the Adriatic, the swarms of British blockading cruisers sealed all the ports of Napoleon's huge realm and those of his allies. **French commerce was being strangled, while English shipping ranged the seas.**

In a desperate attempt to coerce Great Britain, Napoleon now resorted to a form of embargo, almost unique in history. In 1806-07, he declared, by the "Berlin" and "Milan decrees," all his dominions and all countries under his mighty influence closed, not merely to British ships, but to British manufactures of any kind. All his unwilling allies and dependencies were forced to do likewise. British goods if smuggled in could be seized and burned; while intercourse with England in any form became a great crime. This "**Continental System**" was, on the whole, a vast blunder. It could not be enforced rigorously enough to ruin England; it did ruin many innocent merchants whose trade was destroyed; it was intensely unpopular in France; and it brought home the despotic nature of Napoleon's régime to the awakening patriots of Germany. These decrees form one of the prime causes of Napoleon's loss of popularity.

**256. *The resistance of Spain and Austria.*** In 1808, in an unlucky moment Napoleon had overstepped all prudence by deposing the old dynasty and thrusting his brother Joseph upon the throne of Spain. The emperor had rightly formed a contemptuous opinion of the Spanish army; but he forgot that Spain, though an exceedingly easy country to defeat, has proved in history to be an exceedingly difficult country to conquer. There was a wholesale uprising and arming of the proud Spaniards against the interloping "Corsican." Napoleon threw 250,000 men into the peninsula; he won repeated victories over the ill-led forces of the Spanish Provisional Government; but although he could take the chief cities after cruel



slaughter, he could not crush the guerrilla bands, who defied his power everywhere, and kept the patriot cause alive. **For the first time in his career Napoleon had to confront, not "monarchies," but enkindled "peoples."** He did not know how to deal with the problem.

Year after year the Spanish war continued. The Spaniards gained the help of small armies from England, commanded presently by Sir Arthur Wellesley.<sup>1</sup> The generals to whom Napoleon left the war found their task increasingly difficult, and clamored for reinforcements. Napoleon had to divert to Spain men sorely needed elsewhere. This exhausting contest went on until his downfall. "My ulcer" was what later he pithily called this Spanish war.

In 1809, he fought more victoriously with Austria, which had ventured to measure strength with him again. Even here an unpleasant surprise awaited. At Aspern, for the first time in his life, he was really defeated. Then his good fortune and genius reasserted itself. At Wagram he won a great victory. Again Austria must make peace, with the additional loss of 32,000 square miles of territory.<sup>2</sup>

**257. *The regeneration of Prussia.*** But it was neither Spain nor Austria that was to break the power of the great conqueror. The real avenger of the outraged nationalities was to be Prussia.

No land had been dealt with so ruthlessly by Napoleon: for none did he manifest such obvious contempt. At times it seemed as if he would use his great power to blot it from the map. But Prussia, although hitherto a land mainly of hard-drinking country nobles, stupid peasants, and a few unprogres-

<sup>1</sup> Later the Duke of Wellington. This contest in Spain is called by the English the "Peninsular War," and is notable as the scene of Wellington's early triumphs and of the experience which stood him in such good stead at Waterloo.

<sup>2</sup> Much of these lands Austria had to give to Bavaria (Napoleon's supple ally); some to the Duchy of Warsaw (a partial revival of Poland); and certain districts along the Adriatic to France itself.



sive burghers, now came to be the focus of the rising German national feeling, smarting and angry as it was under French insolence and French dictation. In the hard school of adversity, Frederick William III learned many things: especially he appointed as ministers several men who rank as great constructive statesmen. The salvation of Prussia was largely due to **Humboldt**, who reformed her system of education and founded the **University of Berlin**;<sup>1</sup> to **Scharnhorst**, who reorganized the demoralized Prussian army on the basis, not of



ENROLLING VOLUNTEERS IN PRUSSIA

mercenary enlistments, but of universal service, as part of the duties of all citizens,<sup>2</sup> and above all, to **Stein**, who secured the abolition of serfdom and of the old feudal restrictions which had hampered the rise of the lower classes. It is not too much to say that the greatness of modern Germany dates from the

<sup>1</sup> The only efficient Prussian universities had been located in the territory ceded at Tilsit. The founding now of the University of Berlin, destined to be the intellectual citadel of all the new nineteenth-century scientific and higher learning, was an event of the very first order — more important than many far-heralded battles.

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon had forced Prussia to limit her army to 42,000 men. The difficulty was met by dismissing the new recruits as soon as they were fairly well-trained soldiers, and then enlisting another set; keeping the older men within easy call. In this way Prussia really had 150,000 men available for an emergency.



reforms of these men, and the new spirit of patriotism which went with them.

The revival of patriotic feeling was not confined to Prussian governmental circles alone. Men of letters and learning shared in it. The great philosopher Fichte summed up the spirit in his "Addresses to the German Nation." Clearly he pointed out that it was not by mere diplomatic combinations, but by a new patriotism and passion for self-sacrifice, that the Fatherland could be saved; and he called for an intelligent devotion which should "fashion the German people to a unity throbbing through all its limbs." Such appeals went home even to the most doltish peasants. With a great impatience Prussia awaited the day for heroic effort and national deliverance. That day dawned late in 1812.

**258. *The Moscow Campaign (1812).*** Yet in the fateful year of 1812 Napoleon's power seemed unshaken. The Prussian patriot movement seemed spending itself in harmless reforms in a weak vassal kingdom. The Spanish war languished. Some great disaster was needed to tell the world that the "Conqueror" was not invincible; that it was not courting instant destruction to rise against him. Napoleon himself provided the way for his own overthrow.

With Czar Alexander he had made close and avowedly equal alliance, but a real equal Napoleon could never brook. Between Russia and France there arose at first friction, then coldness.<sup>1</sup> Lured on by an evil genius, **Napoleon declared war on Russia.** Over 550,000 men (only a minority Frenchmen, the rest drawn from his trembling dependencies and allies) followed him when he invaded the czar's dominions in June, 1812. He fought his way across the great plains toward Moscow, convinced that once the ancient and sacred capital of Russia had fallen into his

<sup>1</sup> The chief ground of trouble was that Alexander refused to enforce the "Continental System" firmly against English commerce, and thereby ruin his own Russian commerce.



hands, the czar would cry out for peace. At **Borodino** he fought a terribly bloody battle<sup>1</sup> and won the day; but his foes retired unbroken and in good order. On September 14, he entered **Moscow**.

Then came the great disillusionment. The czar did not sue for peace. The city took fire, and became almost uninhabitable.<sup>2</sup> Supplies ran short for the French. Retreat was the only wise course, but Napoleon delayed, hoping vainly for a request for an armistice. No messenger from the czar came. On October 19, the "Grand Army" started back for Germany. The story of the return march is one of the tragedies of history. The terrible Russian winter, the attacks of the swarming Cossack horsemen, the total failure of all supplies, the destruction of bridges, — all made the "Retreat from Moscow" a continuous horror. Napoleon reached the confines of Poland in January with barely 20,000 men behind him. **Three hundred thousand able-bodied young men among the French or their allies had perished**; and the rest were prisoners, stragglers, or had gone over to the enemy.

259. *The great uprising against Napoleon (1813).* The extremity of Napoleon was the opportunity of Prussia. A great outburst of patriotic zeal swept the hesitant King Frederick William away from his alliance with the emperor. Magnificent had been the uprising of France against the Austro-Prussian invaders in the days of the Revolution; equally magnificent now was **the uprising of Prussia** against the Colossus of France. University professors led their students to the enlistment hall. Women sacrificed their jewels, their wedding rings, even their long hair, to raise money for the Fatherland. The winter of 1812-13 was spent by the Prussians in a tremendous effort to

<sup>1</sup> The French lost 32,000 and the Russians 47,000 men.

\* <sup>2</sup> Just how far the Russians were responsible for setting and spreading the fire, and again how much it had to do with rendering Napoleon's position untenable, are among the debatable problems of history.



organize an army which could enable their small impoverished kingdom to measure swords with the oppressor.

Napoleon, meantime, was in France, displaying astonishing energy in creating another army. He had saved most of his officers out of the Moscow wreck, but even before the last fearful campaign his old veterans, the soldiers of the Republic, who had won his first great battles, had been killed off. Only by a remorseless conscription, which swept the whole youth of France into the battalions, could he now assemble numbers sufficient to enable him to take the field. Frenchmen had long since grown weary of celebrating "victories" for which they had paid with their sons' lives. Now, after Moscow, even Napoleon's despotism could not silence a rising demand for "peace." He went into the 1813 campaign with France weary and sullen, with Russia triumphant, and with Prussia most terribly aroused.

260. *The "Battle of the Nations": Leipzig (1813).* Despite the untrained recruits in his ranks, Napoleon at first was able to claim more victories in Germany, but they were not victories of a decisive kind. The Prussian patriot-armies did not break up now as had the old Prussian army at Jena. In June, 1813, he made an armistice with Russia and Prussia, each side waiting to see what attitude Austria would assume. Emperor Francis I had hesitated: — Austria had been defeated so often, and Francis was now Napoleon's father-in-law.<sup>1</sup> But the Corsican foolishly threw away his last chance of keeping Austrian friendship and so breaking up the coalition. When Metternich, the sly Hapsburg prime minister, called on him at Dresden (June 26, 1813), to offer Austrian "mediation" in repayment for the return of some of the Hapsburg lands previously seized by France, Napoleon refused any concessions and

<sup>1</sup> In 1810, Napoleon (who had divorced Josephine because she bore him no children) had wedded the Austrian princess, Maria Louisa. The fruit of this marriage was a son, "the King of Rome," who would have been reckoned "Napoleon II" if he had ever reigned.



acted with intolerable arrogance. "So you want war?" he cried. "Well, you shall have it. The rendezvous shall be in Vienna." In a fit of rage he flung his hat into the corner of the room, and vowed that he cared not if his wars cost the lives of a million men. The ambassador went out grimly. "The man is lost!" was Metternich's blunt reply to the French generals, who crowded around him as he came forth, and who as sane persons were hoping for peace.

**Austria now joined with Prussia and Russia in another great coalition.** England sent subsidies. For the first time all the great non-French Powers were in cordial alliance, and the result was inevitable. Napoleon could still prolong the fighting from August until October, and then came the blow from which he never recovered. From October 16 to the 18th raged the three days' **battle of Leipzig**: the "Battle of the Nations," the victors justly called it. Three hundred thousand allies held Napoleon at bay with only 180,000 men behind him. The French fought magnificently, but there could be only one end. The emperor escaped back into France with only the bare remnants of an utterly defeated army.

**261. The first abdication (1814).** Napoleon could still have saved his throne and a considerable part of his conquests if he would have made peace promptly; but the idea of becoming merely one of several rulers of "Great Powers" was intolerable to him; besides, in France he was really only a tremendously successful adventurer. Could he keep his throne if he were no longer victorious; and if the chief result of his reign should prove to have been only the slaughter of countless French youth? Despite the fact that his armies were now hopelessly depleted, that the English were victorious over his marshals in Spain, that an increasing murmur against new sacrifices was arising at home, he refused all tolerable terms of accommodation, and defied embattled Europe to do its worst.

Late in December, 1813, the allies began to penetrate into



France to complete the work of Leipzig. No uprising of the masses (like that of 1792-93) took place to sweep them beyond the frontiers. With the last remnants of his regular army Napoleon fought a magnificent campaign against superior numbers; repeatedly he won victories, but not decisive ones. March 31, 1814, **the allied forces entered Paris**, and early in April, Napoleon's marshals — no longer willing to sacrifice



SURRENDER OF PARIS TO THE ALLIED MONARCHS, MARCH 31, 1814

themselves to their master's pride — informed him that the army could do no more. **He must abdicate**, and make terms with the allies. Very unwillingly he perforce consented.

The allied monarchs hesitated considerably as to the new government to give to France: logically, however, only one thing was possible, **to restore the exiled Bourbon prince**, the brother of Louis XVI, as **Louis XVIII**, under a constitution, the "Charter," which secured to France most of the permanent reforms of the Revolution and a kind of elective Parliament. The boundaries of France were to be those existing



before the Revolution, with certain very slight additions.<sup>1</sup> As for Napoleon, he was to keep the title of "Emperor," and **be granted the small island of Elba**, off the Italian coast, as a principality. It did not require keen powers of prophecy to imagine that he could not rest within such narrow limits forever.

**262. Waterloo (1815) and St. Helena.** On May 4, 1814, Napoleon reached Elba. **On March 1, 1815, he had landed again in southern France.** The restored régime of the Bourbons had proved tactless and unpopular. The army had not the least enthusiasm for a Government which practically repudiated all the glories of the past twenty years.<sup>2</sup> The instant he believed discontent had ripened, Napoleon struck. For the moment all resistance to his progress crumbled. The troops sent against him joined in the cry, "Long Live the Emperor!" Marshal Ney was sent by Louis XVIII to arrest his old master: and Ney joined the rest in the wholesale desertion. The Bourbons fled hastily to Belgium, while Napoleon reëntered Paris.

The emperor enacted various "popular" measures to conciliate public opinion,<sup>3</sup> and begged the allied monarchs of Europe to believe that he desired nothing now but the old boundaries of France and peace. It was impossible to believe him. While his uneasy genius should control the destinies of France, no former enemy could rest safe. **England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia declared war** and put their armies in motion. The forces at Napoleon's disposal were very inferior in numbers, though the quality of this remainder of his old armies

<sup>1</sup> In the second treaty of peace which followed Waterloo, France lost practically all these small annexations also, and was thrown back upon the old boundaries of 1790. She was likewise compelled to pay a heavy war indemnity.

<sup>2</sup> One of the great grievances of the soldiers was the restoring of the old "White" flag of the Bourbons in place of the beloved "Tricolor."

<sup>3</sup> Napoleon especially tried to convince the French that he would rule as a constitutional and limited monarch, and that he had abandoned all schemes for foreign empire and conquest.





CHELSEA PENSIONERS READING THE GAZETTE OF WATERLOO

*(From a picture by Wilkie, 1822)*



was excellent. His only chance was to take the offensive promptly and to crush his opponents piecemeal ere they could unite their myriads. In June he flung himself into Belgium, and at Ligny defeated Blücher, the brave Prussian commander; and four days later (June 18, 1815), believing Blücher had been rendered harmless, he fell upon the English Duke of Wellington, at **Waterloo**.<sup>1</sup> Four hours long the armies grappled with headlong courage, and the plunging charges of the French cavalry several times almost broke down the stubborn English defense. The battle, however, seemed ending without decision, when **Blücher's Prussians began coming on the scene** after a remarkable forced march. Napoleon's troops had spent themselves. A last spectacular charge of the "Old Guard" ended in failure, and panic seized the exhausted army. They carried their leader with them in the headlong rout.

On June 22, 1815, Napoleon a second time abdicated. He surrendered himself to the English as being rather less incensed against him than the Prussians; but after the "Hundred Days" the only fate for him was exile or death. He was sent by the English to **St. Helena** (a lonely isle in the South Atlantic), and there he died, after a very fretful and unresigned captivity, in 1821. The kings of Europe breathed more easily when they heard of his end.

**263. *Napoleon's character and place in history.*** It is easier to cover Napoleon with immoderate praise or execration than to form a just estimate of his work and his character. For nearly twenty years Europe was under the shadow of his personality. His restless and selfish ambition sacrificed millions of lives in wars of his own creating. He was literally a devourer of the youth of France and of the unlucky nations which he assailed. He was genuinely anxious for the prosperity of France — but only on condition that the prosperity redounded

<sup>1</sup> Wellington had a mixed force of about 70,000 — English, Germans, Dutch; Napoleon, about 72,000.



to his own glory. **The Supreme Egoist** — that may be one estimate of his character.

Yet Napoleon's career was worth nearly all that it had cost. In the surge and wreck of his campaignings **the rotten institutions of old Europe were crippled or destroyed**. What might have taken slow centuries was accomplished in two decades. National spirit was evoked; complacent dynasts were humbled; above all, feudal privilege was broken down. In Europe after Napoleon there were almost no serfs save in stagnant Russia, and the old hidebound aristocracies witnessed the vanishing of most of their power.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Code Napoléon; the "Continental System"; the Peninsular War; "Battle of the Nations"; Elba; the "Hundred Days"; St. Helena.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Berlin; Moscow; Leipzig; Elba; Waterloo.
  - (b) Mark the states of Europe at the time when Napoleon was at the height of his power. Indicate those which were practically controlled by Napoleon.
3. Describe the internal conditions of France under Napoleon.
4. Would the "regeneration of Prussia" have occurred without the humiliations imposed by Napoleon?
5. If Napoleon had "made peace promptly" after Leipzig, is it possible that the peace would have been long-enduring? Give reasons.
6. Compare Napoleon with Cromwell.
7. Summarize the part played by England in the whole period of the struggle against Napoleon.
8. Have there been any other characters in modern times who might have become as powerful as Napoleon, if they had been equally ambitious?

### EXERCISES

1. Napoleon and the Papacy; the Concordat.
2. The economic conditions in France under Napoleon.
3. The "Continental System."
4. In what ways had Napoleon humiliated Prussia?
5. The work of Humboldt, Scharnhorst, and Stein.
6. The Russian campaign; Napoleon's conduct in the retreat from Moscow.



7. The battle of Leipzig.
8. The Waterloo campaign. Wellington as a general. Compare with Napoleon and Marlborough.
9. The effect of Napoleon's career upon France; upon Europe.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 436-54.

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 155-69, 176-92. Duruy: pp. 586-87, 590-91, 598, 601-31. Pattison: pp. 375-77, 381-90. Lodge: chapter XXIV, sections 7, 23, 26-56. Lewis: pp. 583-661. Gibbins: pp. 175-78, 191-92. Robinson and Beard: vol. 1, pp. 323-43.



## CHAPTER XXXV

### THE REACTION IN EUROPE: THE DOMINATION OF METTERNICH

**264. *The Congress of Vienna.*** At Vienna, in 1814, had assembled a great congress of the chief diplomats of all Europe, to remake the map of the Continent, to decide who should profit by the undoing of Napoleon, to establish guaranties against the return of "Revolution," and to insure the continuance of "legitimacy" (i.e., the continuance of the old dynasties in power). The return of Napoleon from Elba interrupted the congress; the diplomats often were at bitter odds among themselves as to the division of the spoils. Nevertheless, in 1815, the discontented element (especially Prussia) had been brow-beaten into acquiescence. A new Europe was virtually created, under an arrangement which remained fairly intact down to 1859.

The leading spirit in preparing and perpetuating this scheme was **Prince Metternich**, the clever and unscrupulous prime minister of Austria. To him everything savoring of "liberalism" or "revolution" was anathema. His influence extended far outside of his master's dominions. Czar Alexander and many other monarchs heard his advice gladly. Down to 1848, he remained in power at Vienna as the inveterate foe of all free political institutions; and so complete was his domination of the situation throughout Europe that this age following Napoleon is often called "the Age of Metternich."

Here are some of the chief arrangements promulgated at Vienna:—

(1) **Austria** regained most of her old possessions north of the Alps; in Italy she was given Lombardy and Venetia (an





EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1815

- States of the German Confederation.
- The Kingdom of Prussia.
- Bounds of the Empire of Austria.

*Note.*—In Italy, Austria has a small strip of territory south of the Po River, on the northern border of Modena.

- G—Germans
- S—Slavs
- M—Magyars
- R—Roumanians
- I—Italians

The distribution of  
races in modern  
Austria-Hungary.

unnatural yoking of German and Slavic with Italian lands which was sure to cause disaster).

(2) Out of Holland and Belgium, now united, the **Kingdom of the Netherlands** was formed, the ruler to be the heir of the old Princes of Orange. This new state was intended as a kind of counterpoise to France.



(3) **Sweden** was obliged to give up all her possessions across the Baltic; in return her kings were given the crown of Norway, which was torn from Denmark.<sup>1</sup>

(4) **Spain** was handed back to its old Bourbon kings.

(5) The bulk of old **Poland** was given to Russia, as "the Kingdom of Poland." Subsequent years, however, were to see the destruction of even this semblance of Polish autonomy.

(6) **Italy** (a mere "geographical expression," Metternich remarked) was treated as if there were no common Italian language, patriotism, or civilization. The King of Sardinia received back his old Piedmont lands, plus the territory of Genoa; the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena were restored; the Pope returned to the Papal States and Rome; the Bourbon dynasty was restored in Naples. Austria, of course, held a commanding position in North Italy. The various petty potentates were absolutely dependent upon Metternich and his master.

(7) In the arrangements at Vienna, **Germany** received the harshest treatment, even though she had suffered most from Napoleon. German patriots had expected that the overthrow of the great oppressor would be followed by the establishment of a common German state with some form of free institutions. Instead, Germany was cast into a loose confederacy of thirty-nine states, varying in size from the mighty Austria and Prussia down to very petty principalities or free cities. The Confederacy was to have a "Diet," too weak for real legislation, but strong enough to obstruct steps toward progress.

**Prussia** herself felt poorly indemnified for the great part she had played against Napoleon. Most of her lost Polish provinces were not handed back, and she was given only a slice of territory from Saxony,<sup>2</sup> and some detached lands along the

<sup>1</sup> The King of Denmark, unluckily for himself, had taken sides with Napoleon.

<sup>2</sup> The King of Saxony had been peculiarly subservient to Napoleon, and the victorious allies at one time considered destroying his kingdom outright.



Rhine. In short, the German arrangements of the congress were discontenting alike to the Prussian King<sup>1</sup> and to the German people, and were sure to result in trouble.

**265. *The Holy Alliance* (1815).** In 1815, Czar Alexander, a well-meaning, impulsive monarch of a mystical, impractical turn of mind, induced the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to join him in a pact known as "**The Holy Alliance.**" In flowery language and with many professions of Christian zeal and charity, the three sovereigns were to govern their countries "as delegates of Providence," and invited all other European Powers to unite in this league with them. Metternich had little confidence in such high-flown utterances, but he induced his master to join the pact as tying the czar closely to his own reactionary policy. For the next decade Metternich induced Prussia and Russia to work with Austria in stamping out the "**disease of liberalism.**" Anything like free institutions in a European country was a calamity;<sup>2</sup> and since evil political ideas when propagated in one country quickly spread across the frontiers to the next, no small state was to be allowed to liberalize its institutions (even if its sovereign desired it), but must be forced back into the old ways of despotism.

The age was one of a rigid  **censorship of the press**, of the silencing of outspoken university professors, and of the use of spies and all forms of police coercion against possible agitators, with imprisonment or exile awaiting all the bolder spirits who defied the prime minister at Vienna. In 1821, after a congress of diplomats at Laibach, an Austrian army was authorized to march into the Kingdom of Naples, and destroy a constitutional government which the liberals of that sorely misgoverned country had forced upon their king. In 1823, a French army did a similar office in Spain, where also there was a strong

<sup>1</sup> Metternich, of course, as an Austrian, tried to keep Prussia as weak as possible.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, no attempt was made to meddle with England, and its effectiveness was confined to the Continent.



movement toward freer government.<sup>1</sup> Only the opposition of England and the United States<sup>2</sup> prevented Metternich and his allies from following this up by a reconquest of the revolted colonies of Spain in America. In 1830, however, his grip on Europe was seriously shaken.

**266. *The Greek and the Belgian revolts.*** The first real setback for Metternich came in the revolt of the Greeks against Turkish oppression (1821). Their country really lay outside of Christian Europe; their grievances were undoubted; but the Turks were their "legitimate" rulers, and no revolt against "legitimacy" was to be encouraged, no matter how great the oppression. Nevertheless, despite the frowns of the Great Powers, the Greeks struggled on. In 1827, England, France, and Russia intervened in their favor.<sup>3</sup> In 1829, the independence of Greece as a small kingdom was won. The first alteration had been made in the map of 1815.

In 1830 came another, a more serious change. Holland and Belgium had not enjoyed being yoked together as one kingdom. The Belgians complained that the Dutch domineered over them, and monopolized the control of the Government. In August, 1830, a revolution started in Brussels which soon ended in the establishment of an **independent Kingdom of Belgium**, under Leopold I.<sup>4</sup> So the scheme for a strong buffer state north of France ended in battle-smoke. In this year, also, a few weeks before the Belgian uprising, a most serious outbreak of "liberalism" had occurred in France, the homeland of "Revolution."

**267. *France under the Bourbons; (1815-30).*** After the

<sup>1</sup> Louis XVIII was not an original member of the "Holy Alliance"; but he owed his throne to the "Three Monarchs" and dared not forget his obligations.

<sup>2</sup> It was at this time that the Monroe Doctrine originated.

<sup>3</sup> The battle of Navarino (1827), off the western coast of Greece (harbor of old Pylos), won by the allied fleets over the Turkish fleet, was practically the last great naval battle between old sailing men-of-war.

<sup>4</sup> Leopold had been a prince of Saxe-Coburg in Germany.



second expulsion of Napoleon, Louis XVIII had returned to Paris. There was no enthusiasm for his rule, but France was exhausted and not then prepared to defy Europe a third time, simply because she preferred another form of government. Weary years of exile had taught Louis XVIII a reasonable amount of wisdom, and he managed to temper the furious clamors of the returned noble emigrants for "revenge" and a recall of the Old Régime. **The great social gains of the Revolution were kept.** Frenchmen continued equal before the law, and there was no odious restoration of privilege and of absolute monarchy. The new constitution (the "Charter"), however, was comparatively illiberal. The upper house of the legislature was nominated by the king: the lower house was theoretically chosen by "the people" — but since only heavy taxpayers were eligible to vote, the whole number of electors was under 100,000 in a nation of 30,000,000. Such a constitution was obviously only a bad imitation of a limited monarchy: and soon after Louis was succeeded by his less capable and more absolutist brother, **Charles X** (1824-30), everything was ready for a new upheaval.

**268. The Revolution of 1830.** In 1830, discontent in France was at such a stage that, even with the very limited franchise, a Parliament was chosen highly unfriendly to the king's absolutist ministers. In an evil hour they dissolved the new Parlia-



EXPOSING PETTY OFFENDERS IN THE PILLORY, FRANCE, ABOUT 1830

Criminal punishments were still very barbarous. (*After a drawing by Philippon*)



ment and issued a proclamation (the "July Ordinances") suspending all liberty of the press,<sup>1</sup> and making several reactionary changes in the fundamental laws on the strength of the king's unsupported fiat. If Charles were to have his way,



A BARRICADE IN PARIS, 1830

Built of paving-stones, it completely blocks the narrow street. The barricades of 1848 were often much more elaborate. (*From a painting by Horace Vernet, in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris*)

the last semblance of constitutional rule had vanished from France—and with it about the last strictly *political* gain from the great Revolution.

Paris was already angry. Now her wrath boiled over. A small band of Republicans, faithful heirs of the old Jacobins, were the leading spirits, but they found hosts of less radical helpers. It was speedily discovered how **barricades** of paving-stones and overturned carts could readily block the crooked streets of the old city; and how behind these barricades a few resolute men could defy a regiment. Charles ordered

the regular soldiery to clear the streets (July 27). The troops were ill led and none too zealous. Their first repulse led to the spread of the revolt. By July 29, Paris was in the hands

<sup>1</sup> The French newspapers had been allowed more liberty than in most other European countries.



of a Provisional Government, and after a vain attempt to compromise, the futile old king was obliged to abdicate and to flee the land.<sup>1</sup> The "**July Revolution**" had undone a great part of the work of Metternich. France at least was lost to "legitimacy."

A strong fraction of the insurgents desired a republic, but they were really in the minority. **The crown was given to Louis Philippe**, a royal prince, the son of a Duke of Orléans, who had supported the popular cause in the old Revolution. He professed ultra-liberal views and promised a genuinely constitutional government. France, however, was soon to find his professions very different from his performance.

**269. The situation in Germany.** In 1813, at the expense of infinite sacrifice, the Prussians had driven the French from the land, and all the rest of Germany had sympathized and applauded. Now, after the arrangements of Vienna, it was evident that Germany was little more than a "geographical expression," like unhappy Italy. The fundamental bane was the subdivision of the country and the lack of a national leader. Austria (despite the fact that the bulk of her lands were non-German) never ceased to claim leadership in German affairs, and never ceased to check every move looking to the predominance of Prussia. Prussia, however, was excessively dreaded by the sovereigns of the little states, as likely to absorb them if allowed the least opportunity. They, therefore, stood closely by Austria and took their policy usually from Metternich. King Frederick William III and his ministers, on their part, were no persons capable of opposing the schemes of the prime minister at Vienna.

In this state of unhappy deadlock, **political progress was excessively slow**, and discontent among the educated classes grew amain. **The universities** became not merely centers of learning, but of popular agitation; their temporary closing,

<sup>1</sup> He died six years later in Styria.



the suspension or expulsion of "political" professors did not end the gathering storm. In these next years of apparent non-progress, German national feeling began to work silently toward a focus as never before. The past glories of the mediæval Empire, when Germany really *was* something, were eagerly studied, and from the example of the mighty past hope was gained for the future.

Nor was the age absolutely barren in advancement. In several of the smaller states (e.g., Bavaria, Würtemberg) the rulers were induced to give their subjects parliaments and constitutions. Again, in 1833, Prussia commenced a successful "**German Customs Union**,"<sup>1</sup> which wrought mightily for *economic* unity by abolishing obnoxious internal customs barriers, and which paved the way for a later *political* unity, as well as adding essentially to the growth of German commerce and industry.

**270. The situation in Italy.** The state of Italy was even worse than that of Germany. During the period of French domination, Italy had received what she had not had for ages — firm, just, intelligent government. Now she was handed back to the old reactionary dynasts whose despotism was neither benevolent nor intelligent.<sup>2</sup> This was the age of the multiplication of brigandage, conspiracies, secret political societies.<sup>3</sup> The ever-ready Austrian army crushed out any local movement for liberal institutions (as in Naples).

Nevertheless, here as in Germany these years were not

<sup>1</sup> Often known under its German title, the *Zollverein*. It was presently joined by nearly all the German states, save Austria.

<sup>2</sup> In many cases the old dynasts (exiled from their thrones by Napoleon) signalized their return by undoing just as much of the French legislation as possible, including much that was obviously beneficial to all concerned. The King of Sardinia ordered a botanic garden at Turin destroyed as being the work of the French invaders. In the States of the Church the Government put forth so much energy in suppressing the Free Masons that it had none left to crush the very numerous brigands.

<sup>3</sup> The most famous of these were the *Carbonari* (literally, "charcoal-burners").



valueless. A common discontent and oppression were making Italians conscious of their own unity. A party known as "**Young Italy**" was being quietly organized throughout the peninsula by the great agitator, **Mazzini**. His ideal was a republic, but it also was the ideal of a united Italy freed from Austrian domination. So these silent forces continued working until 1848, when France taught the world another lesson in revolution.

**271. Louis Philippe's Rule in France (1830-48).** In France the reign of Louis Philippe proved a grievous disappointment to those who expected a rule of liberalism. The new ruler claimed to be a "citizen-king," and neither lacked good qualities of the head nor of the heart; but it was soon evident that his coming meant personal monarchy, albeit in a somewhat changed form. The franchise was a little enlarged, so as to raise the whole number of voters to about 200,000. It was easy by the distribution of governmental favors and patronage to get this small voting body always to return a Chamber of Deputies agreeable to the king, and to enable him therefore to pose constantly as a "constitutional monarch." This "**Orléans Monarchy**" depended really for its success upon the good will of the *bourgeoisie* element, — the rich manufacturing and capitalist class, — more vulgar usually than the old *noblesse*, and



FRENCH FAMILY GROUP, ABOUT 1830  
(After a drawing by Ingres)



often quite as selfish and rapacious. The country was prosperous, and the king was wise enough to keep the peace with the rest of Europe, thus avoiding reaction at home; yet all the while discontent was simmering. The Republicans (who felt themselves cheated by the 1830 Revolution) began to lift their heads, and the muzzling of the newspapers, and drastic punishments for conspiracy could not check them.

From 1840 to 1848, Louis Philippe's Prime Minister was **Guizot**, a scholar and statesman of noble private character, but possessed of the same dubious political ideas as his master.<sup>1</sup> By assiduously bottling up **the growing discontent**, by cultivating the material prosperity of France, and by leaning upon a packed and subservient Parliament, the twain were able to give to the Orléanist régime the appearance of success and stability. In 1848, however, a few incidents brought down the whole house of cards. France plunged again into revolution and involved almost all Europe.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — The Congress of Vienna; the "Age of Metternich"; "Legitimacy"; Navarino; the "July Revolution"; the Zollverein; "Young Italy"; the "Orléans Monarchy."
2. *Geography* — Mark the boundaries of the European states as fixed by the Congress of Vienna of 1815. Compare with the boundaries before the French Revolution.
3. Describe the origin and objects of the Holy Alliance. How far did it accomplish its purpose?
4. What were the first important events which tended to break down Metternich's system.
5. Compare the provisions of the "Charter" (section 267) with similar provisions in the British political system during the same period (chapter xxx).
6. What were the prospects for political liberty in the countries of western Europe at the close of this period?

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<sup>1</sup> Guizot was one of the most distinguished historical writers of France. His *History of France* is in some ways the best popular history ever written for any nation. This fact, however, does not make him an admirable prime minister.



## EXERCISES

1. Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna.
2. The "Liberal" movements in the European states, and the means taken to suppress them.
3. The Monroe Doctrine, and its effect upon the Holy Alliance.
4. The Greek War for Independence.
5. The Carbonari.
6. The "Charters" of 1814 and 1830. Compare them with each other and with the British system then in use.
7. Industrial conditions in western Europe during the period.
8. Guizot and Thiers.
9. The Polish Revolution, 1830.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 455-65.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 194-207, 221-35. Duruy: pp. 630-43. Lewis: pp. 661-76. Lodge: chapter xxv. Gibbins: pp. 194-97. Robinson and Beard: vol. I, pp. 343-62; vol. II, pp. 1-30.



## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

**272. *The downfall of Louis Philippe* (1848).** In February, 1848, the Orléanist monarchy of Louis Philippe, with Guizot for its prime minister, seemed on a sound basis. A careful system of bribery and indirect governmental corruption made the 200,000 electors and their Chamber of Deputies subservient instruments of the administration. The country seemed highly prosperous and reasonably contented. A weak party was, indeed, crying for an electoral reform, but Guizot had only a deaf ear for their demands. On February 22, the leaders of this rather insignificant opposition arranged to hold a procession and a public banquet to advertise their cause.<sup>1</sup> The police, nevertheless, forbade even this demonstration, and the agitators seemed willing to abandon it. The people, however, were not informed that the demonstration was canceled and they swarmed the streets.

During the day there was some petty rioting, but no serious clashes with the authorities: then the ensuing night gave all the disaffected elements in Paris their opportunity. They had found that the authorities feared them, and that the troops and police were not zealous for repression. By morning many formidable barricades had risen, and various quarters were in the possession of an armed mob. The "National Guard" was summoned out to suppress the insurrection, but these militia joined in the rising yell, "Hurrah for Reform! Down with Guizot!" The king hastily agreed to dismiss Guizot, and to take more popular ministers; but after the lull of another night the mob had only gained more strength and courage.

<sup>1</sup> These "banquets" were arranged because public meetings of the regular kind were forbidden by the authorities.



On the 24th, the streets of Paris again rang with the cry — almost hushed since Napoleon's Consulate — “ **Long live the Republic!** ”

By this time the troops were thoroughly out of hand, and while the king, no doubt, had still hosts of well-wishers, few could desire to die fighting for the discredited Orléans monarchy. When Louis Philippe discovered that the National Guard was hopelessly disaffected, he made no attempt to carry on a civil war by fleeing to the departments and trying there to raise new forces. He hastily abdicated. The mob dispersed the Chamber of Deputies, where the monarchists were attempting to proclaim his young grandson king. Louis Philippe followed the weary path to exile in England, while a Provisional Government held sway in Paris, and issued the decree, “ The Republic is the Government of France! ”

**273. *The Second French Republic (1848-51).*** The French people did not desire a republic. **The revolution had been the work of a very few men**, and even these had no well-defined program. Only the weakness and unpopularity of the Orléans régime had given them their chance. Yet France had to submit to their sway for the moment or plunge into civil war, and Paris was so completely the center of the nation that there was really no other rallying-point around which the discontented elements could gather. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Revolution ran a strange course. A leading spirit, Louis Blanc, commanded a strong faction of the Paris laboring classes which stood not merely for a republic, but for something very akin to economic socialism. The most immediate attempt in this radical program was the setting-up of “ **national workshops**,” in which the unemployed or underpaid of Paris could find steady work at good wages.<sup>1</sup> It seemed as if the happy day of the Paris laboring classes had come, but

<sup>1</sup> The workers were to be kept busy manufacturing articles needed by the Government: e.g., saddles for the cavalry; army uniforms, etc.







great deeds in Paris. In Prussia there was a king, **Frederick William IV**, who had already shown himself with unsteady leanings toward liberalism.<sup>1</sup> In 1847, he had convoked at Berlin a kind of legislative assembly for all Prussia. The new body had only the power to *petition* the king and to vote *new* taxes, but it was a beginning, even though Frederick William declared before it his dislike of constitutions. "I will never allow," spoke he, "a sheet of paper, like a second Providence, to make its paragraphs our rulers and substitute them for the ancient faithfulness."

In 1848, however, Frederick William, like practically every other German prince, found himself almost at bay among his subjects. Metternich had fled the rioters of Vienna for England. In March, after hot street fighting, **Frederick William proclaimed a constituent assembly for Prussia: in May another such body was proclaimed in Austria**. There were demonstrations in South Germany in favor of a republic. These were repressed, but the German princes were in terror. As the only outlet from calamity, a **German National Assembly**, chosen by popular vote, was convoked at Frankfort-on-Main, in May, 1848. For the first time the German people at large had the privilege of casting their ballots as citizens, of helping to shape their government, and of acting together as a nation.

The Frankfort Parliament met amid the highest hopes. Its end caused a corresponding disappointment. There was little political experience in Germany, but there were many political doctrinaires who would yield nothing to the exclusion of their pet theories; there were many wild radicals who really fought the battles of the reactionaries. Much time was wasted in

<sup>1</sup> Frederick William IV (1840-61) was a really talented and well-intentioned man. He possessed a deeply religious nature and an earnest desire to accomplish the weal of his people. Unfortunately the taint of insanity was upon him. He soon displayed an extreme fickleness of policy and presently became hopelessly eccentric. In the last years of his reign he became helpless, and the Government passed under the regency of his brother.



petty wrangling; then matters came down to a final issue. Germany was to be organized into a federated empire; but which great unit was to supply the emperor — Prussia or Austria? The upshot finally was that the imperial crown was offered Frederick William of Prussia. The eccentric king had already displayed his disgust for the revolutionary program: he had no desire for an imperial crown offered by a merely elective assembly. Accepting the crown meant giving mortal offense to Austria: probably it implied war. He declined the crown (1849), and the **whole movement for a German Empire came, for the nonce, to nothing.**

Already the old Governments had recovered their poise and grip: especially they had made sure of the loyalty of their armies. Reactionary ministers were put in power. The newly summoned parliaments were dissolved.<sup>1</sup> The movement of 1848, begun with such promise, ended in gloomy failure. Multitudes of earnest patriots and liberals grew sick at heart.

**275. *The revolution in Austria-Hungary.*** In the Austrian lands, at least, the revolutionists went down fighting. After it had been necessary for the Government to crush the insurgents at Vienna by regular bombardment, the Magyars, a proud, masterful race constituting the dominant element in Hungary, had seized the opportunity for making their country almost independent of the Germanized Vienna Government. When now the Austrians tried to force the Hungarians into becoming members of a single centralized monarchy, the Magyars rose in revolt. They declared themselves independent of Austria, and, led by their gallant chief **Kossuth**, made a magnificent resistance. Austria, unaided, might never have subdued them; but if Hungary could win independence, why not also Poland? For the sake of her own Polish possessions,

<sup>1</sup> In 1850 a weak and illiberal constitution was put and kept in force in Prussia.

It was after the failure of the 1848 movement that thousands of prominent and enlightened Germans, e.g., Carl Schurz, emigrated to the United States.



Russia came to Austria's aid. The Magyars were overwhelmed and crushed by the czar's armies. One more revolution had promised well and had failed.

**276. *The revolution in Italy.*** Another cycle of unsuccessful revolution was in Italy. The news of the flight of Metternich from Vienna had been followed by uproar in every Italian state. Every prince, including even the Pope, had been compelled to grant a constitution to his threatening subjects. Above all, **Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had come to the aid of the people of Milan and Venice, who had risen** in one spasm of fury, and thrown off the hateful Austrian yoke. In Italy also for the moment all went well. Pope Pius IX (just come to the pontificate) was regarded at once as capable and open to liberal ideas; and the troubles of Austria with her more northerly subjects gave a good hope of success in arms against her.

The campaign, however, soon lagged. Charles Albert had reckoned on the support of the troops of all the other Italian states, but he was sustained only very imperfectly. After some indecisive fighting, he was finally badly defeated by the Austrians at **Custoza** (July 25, 1848) and forced to make a truce. **Milan was recaptured**, and the first phase of the Italian revolution was over.

But now that the King of Sardinia had retired from the national cause, the more radical Republican agitators felt under no restraint in carrying out their program. **Republics were proclaimed in Florence and Venice.** In Rome, after some vain attempts at half-measures and the assassination of the liberal and enlightened minister, Rossi, whom the Pope had called to power, passions ran so high that Pius felt himself unsafe in the city. He fled to the King of Naples, and the "**Roman Republic**" was once more constituted in the city of the Popes and Cæsars.

In 1849 came the end to this second daring and ill-considered movement. Charles Albert, yielding to general clamors,



renewed the war, but his weak kingdom had no chance against the rehabilitated military power of Austria. March 23 saw his utter defeat at Novara. Crushed by this failure of a great hope to become leader of a free and federated Italy, the king abdicated in favor of his son, **Victor Emmanuel**, who made what peace he could with Austria.

The ephemeral Italian republics now rapidly collapsed. Blockade and starvation forced Venice to surrender after a brave defense. Florence succumbed speedily. The new President of France, Louis Napoleon,<sup>1</sup> wishing to conciliate the Catholic party at home, sent a French army to Rome that presently overcame the gallant but hopeless resistance of the Republican leader, **Garibaldi** (1849).

**Italy seemed again under her old fetters.** Her conquerors abolished all liberal concessions; and stringent policing, censorship, spying, and arbitrary imprisonment were the order of the day. Only at one point was there a real gain. The constitution granted to the Kingdom of Sardinia was not abolished, and that constitution was one day to be the constitution for all Italy.<sup>2</sup>

**277. *The Assembly in Paris* (1848).** While these unsuccessful revolutions were running their courses in Germany, Austria, and Italy, the parent revolution in France was also drifting upon quicksands. The nation had accepted the Republic as the alternative to anarchy, but there was no great enthusiasm for it. The conservative property-holding classes of the departments<sup>3</sup> conceived a strong prejudice against the new

<sup>1</sup> See section 278.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that King Victor Emmanuel was given to understand by Austria that he would be granted much better terms of peace if he abolished this constitution, but he would not break faith with his people, and most nobly refused.

<sup>3</sup> The modern Frenchman of the smaller cities and villages is a very different person from the often excitable, volatile Parisian. The typical Frenchman of the departments is solid, deliberate, thrifty, and extremely conservative in his political changes as in many things else. Unfortunately for the stability of



scheme of national workshops, and against the clamors of the Paris laboring classes for a régime of what seemed extreme radicalism. The National Assembly, while engaged in making the constitution, presently voted the "national workshops" closed. In blind wrath the radical labor element in Paris rushed to arms. "Bread or lead!" rang the cry. The art of building barricades had been too well learned in previous insurrections. Once more they rose in the Paris streets, transforming the industrial quarters into veritable fortresses.

The Assembly intrusted the situation to General Cavaignac, who with the regular troops and the loyal part of the militia crushed the rebels with a heavy hand. **The streets of Paris were raked with artillery.** The insurgents were ill led and unorganized, but resisted like wild beasts at bay. The Government, of course, triumphed presently and the prisoners were ruthlessly shot, imprisoned, or transported. For the moment the Socialists were crushed; but the after effect of these direful "**June Days**" was long and disastrous. The new Republic seemed utterly discredited with the well-to-do classes, if the first thing it could produce was only a reign of anarchy; on the other hand, among the Paris workingmen, for the moment cowed and helpless, there was enkindled a hatred for the capitalist classes which exists even unto this day.

**278. Louis Napoleon, President of France (1848-51).** Amid such ill omens the new constitution was put into effect, and the French nation was called upon to vote for "President of the Republic." The Republican politicians who posed as candidates were hated or distrusted by most of the voters. When the ballots were counted it was found that **Louis Napoleon** was the choice of 5,400,000 Frenchmen. His nearest rival had only

France, it has been very easy for the Parisians to gain control of the Government. No other country is so centralized politically as France, or so utterly dependent upon its capital. This concentration of all the governmental machinery is largely the work of Napoleon I, and forms one of the most important and lasting legacies which he left to France.



1,400,000. A new and remarkable figure was about to write his name into European history.

Louis Napoleon was a nephew of the great Corsican. He was only six years old when his uncle had been hurled from power. He had spent most of his days in a weary exile, now in Germany, now Switzerland, now England. A small band of adherents treated him as the successor to his mighty uncle's rights to the throne of France,<sup>1</sup> but the world at large had not taken him very seriously. Twice he had attempted a kind of filibustering expedition into France. Twice he had failed ignominiously, and the second time he was seized and imprisoned. In 1846, he escaped from custody to England. After the events of 1848, he presented himself in Paris, declared himself enthusiastic for the new Republic, and anxious only to serve his country. Men still regarded him as impractical, insignificant, and in no wise dangerous.

But Louis Napoleon, if not a statesman, was one of the most adept politicians in history. He represented himself as believing that France needed a great tribune of the people, a kind of autocrat whose power came because he was the efficient, concrete means of executing the popular will.<sup>2</sup> The word "democracy" was very frequently on his lips. Most skillfully he traded upon the potent name, "Napoleon." The miseries caused by the great conqueror had now been largely forgotten. The peasantry remembered him only as the demigod who had shed glory upon France. The average country voter could not in the least understand what had happened at Paris. He only knew that the other candidates meant nothing to him. "The former royalists flocked to Louis Napoleon. The peasants had had no political education. They understood but one

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon's own unfortunate son, "the King of Rome," had died in 1832 at the court of his grandfather, the Austrian Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> In 1839, he had published a book setting forth these views ("Napoleonic Ideas"), in which he represented his uncle as the champion of this kind of a popular monarchy.



name, that of the Emperor Napoleon. They voted for that name." As a result Louis Napoleon was swept into the presidency.

279. *The Coup d'État* (1851). It required about three years for Louis Napoleon to transform the new Republic into a monarchy. The control of the army and of a great centralized corps of administrative officials lodged tremendous powers in the hands of the new president. He used them without scruple. By packing the public offices, by steadily cultivating the good will of the army, he was soon intrenched in power. The next step was to quarrel with the legislature, with which he was supposed to work, and he easily maneuvered the case so that he could pose as the champion of the liberties of the entire people, especially of the lowest classes. When all was ready the president struck. On December 2, 1851,<sup>1</sup> **he dissolved the legislature by armed force** and ordered a new election. Political leaders who might have made trouble were promptly arrested. A portion of the Assembly tried to meet in defiance of the president and decree his suspension. Before it could act, the troops dispersed the deputies. In Paris and the departments were a few spasmodic risings against the president, merely great enough to justify him in claiming to be the champion of order against anarchy. All the Republican leaders were imprisoned or banished.

The constitution was promptly altered to give the president a term of ten years and almost dictatorial powers. The French voters were then summoned to vote their approval of the new régime. The official report was that 7,481,000 voted "Yes"; 647,000, "No." It was really impossible to vote "No" seriously. The repudiation of Louis Napoleon would have set up a reign of mere anarchy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The day was artfully selected as the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, the most glorious of Napoleon's victories.

<sup>2</sup> No alternative proposition was before the French voters. To have repudiated Louis Napoleon would simply have cut the country adrift. In fairness it



Within a year (1852) this sham republic was called by its proper name. The president was duly voted "Emperor of the French" as Napoleon III, and the one-time exile and filibusterer took possession of the throne of the great Corsican.

280. *The Second Empire: Napoleon III (1852-70).* Louis Napoleon has been described as the "Great Adventurer";



AN IMPERIAL MOUNTED LANCER:  
TIME OF NAPOLEON III

(From a model in the Musée de l'Armée,  
Paris)

again he has been branded as "the Little," or "the Pinchbeck, Napoleon." These derogatory titles are in the main deserved. He was not without considerable kindness of heart, and he was open to warm and generous impulses, but he was first and last an opportunist and a self-seeker, rather than a statesman and a patriot. He took extreme advantage of the willingness of Frenchmen to submit themselves to one whom they believed to be a great man. To this end he traded on the glories of his victorious uncle, and strove desperately to convince the nation that it was entering again upon a long

period of leadership among the nations. He was really in an anomalous position. He neither stood for an ideal of personal liberty, as did the Republicans; nor could he champion the system of a great past, as did the Monarchists.<sup>1</sup> Any disaster,

should be said that the majority of Frenchmen desired peace and law and order rather than the outward forms of political liberty, and they voted for Louis Napoleon as being likely to give them a "safe and sane" government.

<sup>1</sup> The Monarchists were, of course, now split between the Orléanists and the Legitimists (supporters of Charles X's heirs). The Republicans naturally made a



any notable wane of popularity, would undo him. There was no spirit of loyalty among his subjects to fall back upon in any hour of peril. Under these circumstances the "Second Empire" seems one long experiment: the Government trying desperately by one turn after another to win abiding favor with the nation.

"The Empire is peace," Napoleon III had announced shortly before taking the throne, in order to allay fears that he would imitate Napoleon I by plunging into incessant wars. Peace was secured at home by a strict censorship of the press, and by a Chamber of Deputies which could vote only on measures proposed by the Government.<sup>1</sup> Police spies were everywhere. An officious Minister of Education even commanded all professors "to shave their mustaches that they might drop from their appearance, as well as from their manners, the last vestiges of anarchy."<sup>2</sup> Thanks to drastic supervision like this, the nation was for a while quiet and apparently contented; especially as the rule of Napoleon III was accompanied with internal commercial prosperity and seemingly also with outward success. Despite his promise of a peace policy, in 1854-56 he joined with England in the victorious Crimean War against Russia.<sup>3</sup> In 1859 again, he was tolerably successful against Austria in Italy.<sup>4</sup>

**After 1860, however, the popularity of the "Second Empire" rapidly waned.** Napoleon had, indeed, contrived to foster French commerce and industry. He caused Baron Haussmann to direct a great rebuilding of Paris which made it the most

third French faction. This division among his ill-wishers of course made it much easier for Napoleon III to keep his throne.

<sup>1</sup> Even with this weak Chamber of Deputies, Napoleon III took pains to insure subservient members by proclaiming an "official candidate" for each seat. Persons so recommended were almost sure of election as against candidates running all alone and presumably in opposition to the emperor.

<sup>2</sup> The wearing of a beard and, to a less extent, a mustache, was regarded at the time as a sign of favoring "Republican" principles!

<sup>3</sup> See chapter XL, section 315.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter XXXVII, section 283.



beautiful city in the world.<sup>1</sup> He also instituted a magnificent court, where his empress, Eugénie (a Spanish noblewoman), reigned as the arbitress of elegant fashion. Nevertheless, the foundations of his power were always rotten. He had been compelled to surround himself with ministers of like spirit to himself, self-seeking politicians, clever, corrupt, unmoral. Paris was never more "gay," artistic, glittering, more charged with the spirit of "delightful wickedness," than in the last years of the Second Empire; but it was a prosperity that rested on flimsy bases. In 1862, Napoleon embarked on a vain and disastrous attempt to set up an "empire," dependent on France, in Mexico. The affair failed and cost him money and prestige. Across the border, the events of 1866 suddenly proclaimed Prussia a mighty rival to France as the first nation of Europe.<sup>2</sup> To bolster up his tottering throne, Napoleon made political concessions to his subjects. In 1869, his régime really became that of a liberal and constitutional monarchy with a "responsible" ministry. The new experiment, however, was never fairly tried. In 1870, the "Great Adventure" ended amid the cannon smoke of disastrous war.

## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Louis Blanc; "National Workshops"; Frederick William IV; Kossuth; Charles Albert; Pius IX; Garibaldi; the "June Days"; the Coup d'État; the "Great Adventurer."
2. *Geography* — Mark the lands of the Austrian Empire, showing the different races.
3. Compare the Revolution of 1848 in France with that of 1830, as to causes, the nature of each, and the results. How far did each seem to reflect the wishes of the whole nation?
4. How far was the French Revolution (1789) responsible for the revolutions of 1848? How far was Metternich responsible?

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<sup>1</sup> It was at this time that the magnificent boulevards were laid out, so distinctive of modern Paris. A main reason for making these fine streets, however, was to make it easy to clear the city with cannon, and to put a stop to barricade fighting.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter XXXVIII, section 291.



5. Why did the revolutions (except in France) fail?
6. The career and character of Louis Napoleon. What conditions made it possible for him to become emperor?

## EXERCISES

1. Socialism in the revolutions of 1848.
2. The different races in the Austrian Empire and their influence upon the Revolutions of 1848.
3. Industrial conditions in France under Napoleon III. The Suez Canal.
4. The French in Mexico.
5. The liberal concessions made by Napoleon, 1860-70.

## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 466-79.

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Lewis: pp. 676-79. Lodge: chapter XXVI, sections 1-20, 24-27.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII

### HOW CAVOUR MADE ITALY

281. *Italy after 1848.* The Italian revolution of 1848 had failed. Patriots had not to look far for the reasons why their country was divided among seven principalities or provinces<sup>1</sup> and did not form a united, prosperous nation.

(a) Even if Italy were united, she was no match probably for the overwhelming military power of Austria.

(b) The Italian nationalists were themselves divided between the radical Republicans and those merely desirous of a constitutional monarchy.

(c) Pope Pius IX, who had begun his pontificate as a liberal ruler, had been panic-stricken by the events of 1848, and had swung the immense influence of the Church against the cause of revolution.

Outside of the limited territory of the King of Sardinia, general reaction now prevailed for several years. Liberty of the press had ended almost as suddenly as it had been granted. **Austrian garrisons** held down various districts considered especially full of disaffection. Most of the national leaders were in exile. When Pius IX returned to Rome, he granted an amnesty to the rebels against his power, but there were 283 exceptions! The rule of King Ferdinand of Naples was notoriously severe. "King Bomba" his groaning people called him. His prisons and galleys were filled with political offenders; and even the Powers opposed to the Italian patriots deplored his absurd tyranny as sure to lead to bloody rebellion. Some of

<sup>1</sup> It is well to recall that at this time the Italian states were: (1) The Papal States; (2) the Austrian provinces (Lombardy and Venetia); (3) the Kingdom of Sardinia; (4) the Kingdom of Naples; (5, 6, 7) the Grand Duchies of Modena, Tuscany, and Parma.



the other states were hardly better. In 1854, the Duke of Parma was murdered in the public street after a reign marked by reckless despotism. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena, though somewhat more reasonable, were princes of the Aus-



ITALY SINCE 1848

trian line and took their orders from Vienna. Seldom had there been a more miserable time in the beautiful yet often oppressed peninsula of Italy than in these early fifties.

**282. Cavour's policy in Sardinia (1849-58).** In only one quarter was there a promise of better things. In Sardi-



nia<sup>1</sup> reigned Victor Emmanuel (1849-78), a man of singular loyalty, integrity, and open-mindedness. He came of the "House of Savoy," an old dynasty that had produced no world conquerors, but many highly capable princes. A great genius the king was not, but he loved his country, he kept faith with his people, and he had an unselfish ambition to serve them. Italians do right in counting him the real hero of modern Italy.

And yet Victor Emmanuel's service to Italy is largely summed up in this: he recognized and kept in power a **master statesman and minister, the Count of Cavour**.

Cavour was a Piedmontese nobleman who had been forced to leave the army in 1831 on account of liberal opinions. He became interested in scientific agriculture, and devoted himself to the study of advanced farming. To this end he made many visits to England and became familiar with the English constitutional system. After the disastrous year of 1848, he was called to the Sardinian ministry. In 1852, he became Prime Minister. From that time onward he strove with the power of an ardent and honorable genius to drive Austria from Italy, and to **unite Italy under the rule of Victor Emmanuel**.

If Sardinia was to spread herself over Italy, Cavour held that she must prove her right to worthy leadership. To establish this, he carried through the Sardinian Parliament many laws greatly improving agriculture, commerce, and finance. The number of unoccupied monks and of convents seemed to him excessive. He did not hesitate to defy the censures of the Vatican by greatly reducing the number of these ecclesiastics, and to place a tax on the Church lands. The Pope threatened Victor Emmanuel personally with the wrath of Heaven for this, but the king refused to disavow his minister.

<sup>1</sup> Although the official name for this kingdom was "Sardinia," the bulk of its population lay on the mainland in the territory of Piedmont. The whole realm had only 5,000,000 inhabitants, but in the Piedmontese part of them were numbered some of the steadiest, thriftiest, most capable folk in all Italy: very unlike the turbulent and unstable Neapolitan peasantry.



In 1854, Cavour sent a small Sardinian army to aid the French and English in the Crimean War.<sup>1</sup> He had little direct interest in this struggle; but his act enabled him to participate in the Congress of Powers which met at Paris (1856) to wind up the contest. At the conference he was able to speak plain words as to the misrule of Austria in Italy, and to lay his case before all Europe.

All this time he had been spinning the webs of private intrigue very successfully. Above all, he had convinced the Italian Republicans that there was no hope for their entire program, but much hope for a liberal monarchy over united Italy if they cast in their lot with Victor Emmanuel. "*Make Italy*," wrote Manin, a Republican chief, to the king, "and I and all other Republican patriots are for you and with you." But Cavour needed something besides the help of the Republican faction: most skillfully he was striving to enlist the alliance of Napoleon III.

**283. *The intervention of Napoleon III (1859).*** Louis Napoleon had belonged in his youth and in his days of exile to a secret society (the "Carbonari") pledged to Italian independence. After he became emperor and tried to pose as the arbiter of Europe, the chance to make an alliance with Sardinia and to hurl Austria (the old rival of France) from Italy appeared tempting. Had not Napoleon I won his first real glories in Italy? The Pope had now, however, tied himself up completely with Austria, and Napoleon III hesitated to alienate the very powerful pro-Papal party in France. To conciliate that party he had sent French troops in 1849 to overthrow the short-lived "Roman Republic." Cavour now devoted all his matchless energies as a manipulator of men to convincing Napoleon that it was both safe and advantageous to intervene in Italy: and a strange incident aided the Sardinian minister.

In 1858, an Italian patriot enthusiast, **Orsini**, threw a bomb

<sup>1</sup> See chapter XL, section 315.



at Napoleon III while on his way to the Paris Opera. Orsini was seized and presently, of course, tried and executed. Before his execution he sent Napoleon an appeal proving himself to be no ordinary conspirator. He had attempted to murder Napoleon because he believed him the chief obstacle to Italian freedom. He reminded the emperor that "Italy's sons had shed their blood for his uncle"; and he said again, "Free my country, and the blessings of 25,000,000 citizens will follow you into the next world." Napoleon III, selfish and unscrupulous schemer that he was, did not lack a nobler and an emotional side. He was touched by Orsini's appeal: perhaps, too, he feared that Orsini would find imitators. In 1858, he had an interview with Cavour. A private treaty was soon made: **Sardinia was to be given Austrian Italy after it had been won by French armies.** In return Victor Emmanuel would cede Nice and Savoy to France.<sup>1</sup>

It still required some nice manipulation by Cavour to bring about the war, so that it should not seem as if Austria was attacked out of sheer wantonness. The Austrians themselves foolishly gave the justification. They launched an ultimatum requiring Sardinia to disarm her forces. The answer was a defiance from both Sardinia and France.

"I am leaving the last sitting of the Piedmontese [Sardinian] Parliament," said Cavour gleefully, the night war was voted. He was right. The next Parliament would represent all Italy.

**284. *The making of the Italian Kingdom.*** In this war of 1859 neither France nor Austria had great generals nor well-organized armies. The Sardinians were brave and tolerably well handled; probably it was their courageous fighting that turned the scale; but the campaign was conducted very unscientifically on both sides. On June 4, the allies won the battle

<sup>1</sup> These were small districts *west* of the Alps, belonging to Victor Emmanuel, but really more French than Italian in language and civilization. It was a heavy sorrow for the king to give them up, however.





CAVOUR

Italian statesman

Born 1810

Died 1861







of **Magenta**, which gave them the control of Lombardy and possession of Milan. The Austrians drew back and stood at bay to cover Venetia. At **Solferino** was a second great battle. There was bad generalship on both sides,<sup>1</sup> but the French somehow blundered into a second victory. All the world expected Napoleon to force his way now to Venice. To the amazement of everybody and to the especial distress of Cavour, he held instead a personal interview with Emperor Francis Joseph (at **Villafranca**) and announced a preliminary peace. Probably his nerves had been shaken by the slaughter at Solferino. Austria had still great fighting power, and very likely also Napoleon had begun at length to realize that a *strong* native power in Italy would be an unwelcome rival to France.

By the arrangement of Villafranca, **Sardinia was to be given Lombardy, but Venetia was to remain in Austrian bondage.** Napoleon had pledged an "Italy free to the Adriatic." Here was the fulfillment of his vow!

But the campaign was not destined to end simply with the gaining of Milan. In Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and the Romagna,<sup>2</sup> the moment the Austrian power had weakened, **Provisional Governments sprang up**, and sent their grand dukes or cardinal legates flying. By overwhelming majorities, on popular vote, these countries declared that they wished to be annexed to Sardinia. In the Romagna a constitutional convention declared that it did not desire the continuance of the temporal government of the Pope, and that it did desire to pass under Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon III was sorely perplexed at this tempest he had raised. An "Italy," far greater than he had anticipated, was rising before his eyes. His failure to win Venetia for the Italians, as pledged, made it hard

<sup>1</sup> For example, when the Austrian Emperor ordered the reserves to come up, he was informed that they had been started in full retreat two hours before.

<sup>2</sup> The northern part of the Papal States, lying mainly toward the Adriatic.



for him to complain to them now. He vainly advised Pope Pius IX to accept the loss of Romagna. The Pope steadily refused, and Napoleon was presently bribed into allowing the revolution to run its course, by being given Nice and Savoy.<sup>1</sup> **Victor Emmanuel's kingdom had thus been more than doubled,** but it was speedily destined to grow still more.

**285. *The conquest of Naples.*** In the south of Italy and in Sicily the Neapolitan kings of the House of Bourbon had made the land groan under their tyranny. Victor Emmanuel had offered King Ferdinand an alliance, and begged him to grant his subjects a constitution. Both suggestions were haughtily rejected. Cavour and his master were now in a position to strike effectively.

The famous patriot, **Garibaldi**, a past-master in filibustering and irregular warfare, was allowed to collect one thousand volunteers (the memorable "Marsala Thousand") in Victor Emmanuel's dominions, and embark them at Genoa for **a dash to Sicily**. Cavour sent a note to the Great Powers, **after** Garibaldi had sailed, "regretting" this attack upon a friendly kingdom; but privately the Sardinian naval and harbor authorities had been given a broad hint not to discover this breach of neutrality.<sup>2</sup>

Garibaldi landed at Marsala, near Palermo (May, 1860), the old capital city of Sicily. The population rose against the Neapolitan king's generals. There was desperate fighting, but the volunteers in the red "**Garibaldi shirts**" carried all before them. In a few weeks Sicily was free. The liberating chief declared himself temporary dictator acting for "**Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy.**"

<sup>1</sup> To which he had lost his former claim by his failure to win Venetia. His acceptance of these lands after breaking his own pact destroyed his rights to Italian gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Emmanuel's admiral received a note from Cavour: "Try to place yourself between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. I hope you understand me." "My lord," was the answer, "I believe I *do* understand you."



The next move was toward the mainland. In vain King Francis II<sup>1</sup> tried to quiet his subjects by proclaiming a "constitution." The Neapolitans had had enough of such sham reforms. Garibaldi's march from Reggio northward to Naples was almost a triumphal procession, the people everywhere welcoming the "Liberator." Francis II fled Naples and took refuge in the strong seaside fortress of Gaëta. There he stood at bay, and for the moment matters looked perilous, for Garibaldi was threatening to seize Rome (which Napoleon would never have allowed), and the Papalists and the Austrians were enraged beyond measure. Cavour struck boldly by sending Victor Emmanuel's own troops into Naples, and the king in person took over the command of the war against Francis II. The unfortunate Bourbon held out until 1861, and then Gaëta capitulated: all the rest of the Kingdom of Naples had long since been annexed. Another great stroke had been accomplished for Italian unity.

Napoleon III had viewed this seizure of Naples with the greatest alarm, but he could find no tolerable pretext for intervention.<sup>2</sup> A large party in southern Italy and Sicily still desired a republic, but they yielded to the logic that demanded a safe union under the House of Savoy. In 1861, a Parliament for nearly the whole peninsula met at Turin, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel, "King of Italy, by the Grace of God and the Act of the People."

Cavour, the prime mover in all this great achievement, was not destined to contemplate his handiwork for long. His health succumbed to the intense strain. He died in June, 1861. "**Italy is made — all is safe!**" were his dying words, and he was right. Few statesmen have been more adroit, patriotic, or successful than he. His motives had been pure, and usually

<sup>1</sup> Who had very recently succeeded his evil father, Ferdinand II.

<sup>2</sup> Cavour had assured him, "We are forced to take action [in the interests of law and order in Naples]," and Napoleon is said to have washed his hands of the whole affair.



his methods.<sup>1</sup> Venetia and Rome were still to be annexed, but in the main a united Italy had been won. In 1858, Victor Emmanuel had reigned over 5,000,000 "Sardinians." In 1861, he reigned over 22,000,000 "Italians."

**286. *The winning of Venetia* (1866).** Venetia fell to Italy in 1866, when Prussia and Austria engaged in war,<sup>2</sup> and the former needed an ally. The Italian troops were poorly led and lost a great battle at Custozza, but the mere fact of their attack prevented the Austrians from using their full forces against Prussia. After the Austrian defeat in Germany, **the treaty of peace gave Venetia to Victor Emmanuel.** Only one great unit was lacking now to a United Italy — Rome.

**287. *The winning of Rome* (1870).** Rome, by all tradition, was the only proper capital of Italy: but Rome was the seat of the Papacy, and Pius IX's Government earnestly protested that it was impossible for it to consider giving up the city which the Popes had ruled so long, and equally impossible for the Pope to consider himself free in his spiritual functions if he was not also the temporal ruler of his own city. All attempts at compromise and conciliation failed. In 1862 and 1867, Garibaldi attempted with filibustering expeditions to end the "Temporal Power." As a result, Napoleon III placed a French garrison in Rome. In 1870, however, the French troops were withdrawn to meet the invading Prussians at home, and Victor Emmanuel's ministers could act again. Pius IX announced that he could yield only to force, but his weak army was quickly overcome by the Italian generals and the royal troops marched into "the breach in the Porta Pia." The Pope shut himself in the Vatican, declaring himself so hemmed in and insulted that he was "a constructive pris-

<sup>1</sup> Cavour stands in honorable contrast in many respects to his great compeer, Bismarck. He did not wrest his word, "Fight the Devil with fire," or indulge in drastic and unconstitutional methods to achieve his end. Few public men have ever accomplished so much as he, and left cleaner political characters.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter xxxviii, section 291.



oner.”<sup>1</sup> By a vote of 130,000 to 1500 the people of Rome declared for annexation to Italy, and **the royal capital was promptly moved to the Tiber.**

The last stone had been placed, and the national edifice was complete. Italy was now a united, constitutional nation, able to rank among the Great Powers of Europe; and Victor Emmanuel goes down among the great kings of history.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — King Victor Emmanuel; Orsini; the Peace of Villafranca; Garibaldi.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Savoy; Magenta; Solferino; Venice; the Romagna; Genoa; Palermo; Naples; Gaëta.
  - (b) Mark the states of Italy in 1849.
3. Compare the conditions in Sardinia with those in the rest of Italy.
4. What was Cavour's aim? Make a summary of the steps by which his aim was accomplished.
5. What part did Napoleon III play in the making of Italy? What were his motives?
6. What was the attitude of Pius IX toward Cavour and his work?
7. How did Prussia contribute to the making of Italy?

### EXERCISES

1. Mazzini and “Young Italy.”
2. The Risorgimento movement.
3. The character of Cavour; his internal policy.
4. Garibaldi; his relations with Cavour.
5. The Sardinian Constitution (1848).
6. Victor Emmanuel II.
7. The struggle for freedom in Italy as reflected in the poems of Mrs. Browning.

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<sup>1</sup> After the conquest the Italian Government declared the Pope an independent sovereign who ruled his palace of the Vatican with absolute right and who had all the privileges of a king; a considerable annual income also was granted him. Pius IX and his successors have firmly refused to accept this settlement, have considered themselves as “morally prisoners,” and have denounced the House of Savoy and its ministers. No Pope since 1870 has left the grounds of the Vatican palace to traverse the streets of Rome — the city in which they claim they can appear as nothing less than sovereign rulers.



## READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson: nos. 479-84.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 269-81. Pattison: pp. 391-418. Lodge: chapter XXVII, pp. 1-6, 11, 17. Robinson and Beard: vol. II, pp. 90-109.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### HOW BISMARCK MADE GERMANY

**288. *After the 1848 Revolution in Germany.*** The 1848 revolution and its failure caused the most intense disappointment to all German liberals. Practically nothing seemed accomplished. The Fatherland seemed as divided and despot-ridden as before. It was perfectly evident (1) that the German people needed a long, painful political education before they could exercise such rights of self-government as did the English; (2) that **until either Prussia or Austria was eliminated from the politics of the weak, worthless German Federation,<sup>1</sup> real progress was out of the question.** The nation obviously needed a single leader, and yet neither the king at Berlin nor the emperor at Vienna could accept the law from the other.

To eliminate Prussia from the complete German question was impossible, for the great bulk of King Frederick William's subjects were ardent and genuine Teutons, despite a considerable Polish element in the eastern provinces. Impartial critics would have urged the elimination of Austria. Barely one quarter of Francis Joseph's people spoke the German tongue. What part had the swarming Croats, Magyars, Poles, and Czechs in the life of the Fatherland? Unfortunately, however, the Austrian Government was very loath to remove itself from Germany, where it could dominate the situation (hardly less than in Italy) by trading on the fears of the lesser princes against the overwhelming power of Prussia.<sup>2</sup> The Kings of

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xxxv, section 264.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Austria is in one sense that of a power which started as almost purely German, and then, little by little, has been pushed out of sympathy with and influence in Germany; while at the same time it has gained new dominions toward the east (e.g., Hungary, Croatia, part of Poland, etc.). Yet the



Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover and nearly all the grand dukes and princes, from Baden down to the least, looked to Vienna for leadership rather than to Berlin. If Germany was to become a genuine nation, only one solution to the situation was really possible. Prussia must expel Austria from Germany with the armed hand. Peaceful means would surely never remove her.

Frederick William IV, however, was a very unfit leader for such a movement. He was hopelessly eccentric and shifty, and had lost the confidence of his people. In 1850, he had **proclaimed a constitution for Prussia**, but the Parliament as established had a House of Lords (*Herrenhaus*) made up only of great nobles or of appointees of the king; the House of Deputies was chosen on such a narrow franchise that it could hardly claim to represent the people.<sup>1</sup> Such grudging arrangements, of course, angered a great part of his subjects; in addition he showed himself vacillating and timid in dealing with Austria.

In 1850, a dispute had arisen between Prussia and Austria over a new scheme for a very limited German Confederation.<sup>2</sup> The dispute quickly drifted, it seemed, toward war. Both sides mobilized their armies. There was even a skirmish. Then Frederick William seems to have lost his nerve, and announced that he would abandon his claims. The **Conference at Olmütz** ended in the surrender of Prussia to Austria on every substantial point at issue. It seemed as if the king wished to make a public confession of the fact that he dared not cross swords with Austria.

**289. *The coming of Bismarck* (1862).** Prussia had been

Austrian Government has been very unwilling to withdraw itself from its old German connection and become frankly an East-European Power.

<sup>1</sup> This constitution is still the basis for the constitution of Prussia, and is the cause of much discontent at the present day.

<sup>2</sup> This was an attempt engineered by Prussia to form a small confederation with some of the lesser states of Central Germany.



humiliated before all the world by Austria. Her position did not improve for several years. Then at length to Prussia, as to Sardinia, there came an able king and a great prime minister. The king was William I; the prime minister was Bismarck.

In 1858 Frederick William IV became so insane that his brother had to be declared regent.<sup>1</sup> In 1861, this brother became king. **William I** was a prince of no great genius, but he possessed certain cardinal virtues. Personally he was simple, unassuming, and, despite a military career, decidedly tender-hearted. He possessed a genuine and earnest piety along with a deep consciousness of the greatness of his human office. He was without the least political originality or genius; but his one cardinal merit was like unto that of Victor Emmanuel: he knew that he possessed a great prime minister, and he held that minister in office despite cavil, faction, and threatenings.

**Otto von Bismarck**, who was made President of the Prussian Cabinet in 1862, came of the Prussian country nobility, a very conservative stock; and in 1848, he had been a pronounced anti-liberal, and an opponent of the unlucky Frankfort Constitution. Later he had served Prussia on foreign embassies. He had conceived against Austria an earnest hate, as the chief foe to Prussian greatness. His views in the interval also had broadened. He had learned to see a certain amount of good in constitutions and in popular participation in government; he now came to the portfolio charged with an **intense desire to expel Austria from German affairs and to unite Germany under the effectual leadership of Prussia**. He would glorify his beloved king and Prussia by making them the head of a united and prosperous Germany. To this end he devoted all his match-

<sup>1</sup> During Frederick William's later years he had been hopelessly reactionary; all agitation for liberal institutions had been denounced as contrary to true religion. "There is an evil spirit in the cities," said the king; and Stahl (rector of the University of Berlin) denounced the prevailing scientific spirit of the age. "Science must face about," he asserted.



less powers as a supple diplomat and intriguer, and no over-nice moral scruples were to hold him back from his goal. The first few years of Bismarck's administration were consumed in a thorough reorganization of the Prussian army along the newest and most scientific lines and upon the basis of universal military service. The change was very unpopular. It involved drafting a very large number of citizens into the army, and also a heavy expenditure. The Prussian Parliament repeatedly refused to vote authorization or money for the new scheme. Bismarck and his master continued on their way undisturbed by popular clamors and legislative censures. The king and his minister were resolved to give Prussia such an army that she could safely risk a great struggle with Austria, and no great tenderness for the letter of the law prevented them. "It is not by speeches and resolutions," said Bismarck, "that the great questions of the day are to be decided: but **by blood and iron.**" History has justified the prime minister. In **Von Moltke** he had a "Chief of Staff" of remarkable ability. By him the Prussian army was so reorganized that it was soon proved to be the first in the world.

**290. The Danish War (1864).** In 1864, Bismarck began to come to his reckoning with Austria. He soon showed himself a far better diplomat than the Vienna statesmen. All Germany was agitated over **the Schleswig-Holstein question**. These two duchies had a population mainly German, but had been placed by a "personal union" under the King of Denmark. In Holstein, especially, Danish rule was very unwelcome. In 1863, the Danes adopted a constitution which made the duchies almost parts of Denmark.<sup>1</sup> In Holstein there was great uproar, and men proposed to give the ducal throne to the Duke of Augustenburg.<sup>2</sup> Bismarck now adroitly maneu-

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Holstein, the southern duchy, were bitterly Anti-Danish, and resented this attempt to "un-Germanize" them.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Augustenburg seemed to have the next best claim if the King of Denmark were eliminated.





PRINCE BISMARCK

German statesman

Born 1815

Died 1898







vered the Austrians into an entangling alliance with Prussia to eject the Danes from the disputed country. The general supposition was that the Duke of Augustenburg would presently be given the lands, and this was what the world awaited, when, after a brief war (the Danes fighting heroically, but simply overwhelmed by the troops of the two great powers against them), the King of Denmark was obliged to make peace by giving up the duchies and promising to accept any disposition which the allies might make of them.

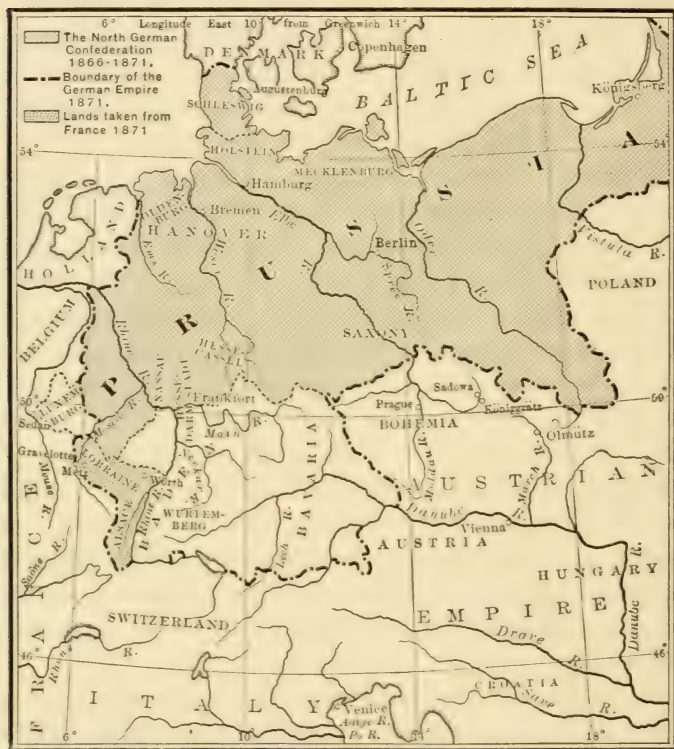
Then it was that Bismarck showed his hand. Over the settlement of the government of Schleswig-Holstein endless difficulties arose. Austria urged the cause of the Augustenburger; Bismarck demanded that if the region *were* to be made into a new principality, it should be tied to Prussia in extreme bonds of vassalage. Austria was resolved under no circumstances to submit to an increase of Prussian power; the duke refused Bismarck's proposals, and the South German princes sustained him. Bismarck and his master were unpopular throughout Germany on account of the unconstitutional army reforms; but the great prime minister was not a man to worry about mere popular grumblings. He knew that **Von Moltke had re-organized the Prussian army into a magnificent, scientifically built fighting machine**; and he knew that he had secured Italy for an ally.

By June, 1866, Austria and South Germany were thoroughly angry, while Bismarck and Von Moltke were thoroughly confident. The attempt of Prussia to prevent the Duke of Augustenburg being proclaimed in Holstein, therefore, led promptly to war.

**291. *The Austro-Prussian War (1866).*** The German Federal Diet, the body of delegates of the worthless old "Confederation," declared the peace broken by Prussia and ordered a general arming against her (June 14, 1866). The Diet was decreeing its own dissolution. Although all the lesser kings of



Germany — Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, as well as the princes of Baden and the two Hesses — were on the Austrian side, these disconnected and feeble allies did the Hapsburg monarchy very little good; their scattered corps



THE GERMAN EMPIRE

being readily defeated or checked by small Prussian armies. King William had gone into the war with hesitation. The odds against him seemed great. His Italian allies were a very uncertain quantity.<sup>1</sup> Public opinion had denounced him for sustain-

<sup>1</sup> Besides Italy, he had the alliance of a few quite small North German states such as the Mecklenburgs. It turned out that the Italians were mainly useful in



ing the illegal policy of Bismarck. But his advisers had now convinced him that it was safe to trust to the newly organized army, and they knew whereof they spoke. The Prussians instantly took the offensive. Von Moltke directed them most skillfully into Saxony, and sent the local king, with his court and army, flying headlong to their Austrian friends in Bohemia. The Prussians followed into the Austrian lands. On July 3, 1866, came a great and **decisive battle at Königgrätz**:<sup>1</sup> 200,000 Prussians striving to storm a strong position above the Elbe, defended by as many Austrians. The battle was desperate, bloody, and for a long time hung in the balance. But the Austrian general, Benedek, was no match for Von Moltke, and the final arrival of reinforcements turned the scale in the Prussians' favor.<sup>2</sup> Benedek's army fled southward, almost a demoralized mob. It had lost 42,000 men, and was incapable of successful resistance. One great contest had decided the war.

Austria had shot her bolt, and must make peace. After a preliminary truce, the Peace of Prague (August 23, 1866) ended hostilities. Bismarck's darling ambition was gratified. **Austria retired from all further participation in German affairs.** Prussia was allowed to seize and annex the unlucky territories of Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort. Their dispossessed princes took the gloomy road to exile. In North Germany, Prussia was to be allowed to organize the surviving principalities into a confederation completely under her dominance. In South Germany, the local sovereigns were left their internal independence, but it was understood that their entire military force was at the disposal of Prussia in event of war. The "blood-and-iron"

diverting a large Austrian army to check their march on Venice (see chapter xxxvii, section 286).

<sup>1</sup> Also often called *Sadowa*, from the name of another village near the battle-field.

<sup>2</sup> One great advantage of the Prussians was their new breech-loading "needle gun," which was vastly superior to the old-style Austrian weapons.



policy had amply vindicated itself. If the German nation was not yet made, it was surely well advanced in the making.

**292. *The founding of the North German Confederation.*** Bismarck was now free to organize a federal government for all but the southern states<sup>1</sup> of Germany. Abstract reasoning would have dictated the abolition of *all* the petty sovereigns, but local feeling, the opinion of Europe and the etiquette due to crowned heads had to be respected. The result was the **North German Confederation**; the present German Empire is merely an expansion of this.

The new scheme was really a clever balancing of local rights and prejudices against the necessity of **giving the final control in all vital matters to Prussia**. Each state kept its own magistrates and legislature, but certain things were entirely taken out of its scope. The King of Prussia was in absolute command of the entire army, in virtue of holding the "presidency" of the League. Postal and telegraph service, likewise the custom-houses, were in charge of "federal" (that is to say, in effect, Prussian) officers. As a legislature there was set up an upper house, the **Bundesrath** (Federal Council), whereof the members were ambassadors named by the different states, the larger states having more representatives than the smaller. Prussia had 17 votes; the other 21 states had, together, 26; but on important questions Prussia could always command a majority (22), for her 17 votes would be cast as a unit, and her influence could always pick up a few more among the lesser states. The lower house of the legislature (**Reichstag**) was to be elected by direct manhood suffrage, according to districts based mainly on population. Here Prussia with her great bulk was always sure of a majority. The Confederation, in short, was an "equal alliance" between a lion (Prussia) and a number of relatively helpless sheep. The lion, however, was wise in not displaying his powers too often, and the sheep were tolerably contented

<sup>1</sup> Especially Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden were still left out.



under his guidance: — in short, a most ingenious scheme, and one worthy of Bismarck, who now, as “**Chancellor of the Confederation,**” practically assumed charge of the Government of Germany.

It is under a slight modification of this constitution that Germany exists to-day.

**293. *Bismarck and Napoleon III.*** From across the Rhine Napoleon III had watched the growth of Prussian influence with increasing alarm. **It was a cardinal point with Frenchmen that their nation was the First Power of Europe.** France had been repeatedly defeated: — true; but only by a great coalition. No single nation had ever successfully crossed swords with her.<sup>1</sup> In 1865, when Bismarck was planning a rupture with Austria, he had gone to Biarritz<sup>2</sup> and encouraged Napoleon III to believe that if Prussia were allowed a free hand against Austria, France would be allowed to “indemnify herself” for any increase of Prussian power by seizing German lands along the Rhine. But Bismarck purposely left his engagements very indefinite and Napoleon was utterly hoodwinked. He had expected Prussia and Austria to have a long, indecisive war, in which he could intervene as arbiter after both sides were exhausted. To his dismay Prussia won an astonishingly prompt victory. The battle of Königgrätz was almost as unwelcome to France as to Austria. What if a new “First Power” had arisen? Austria retired beaten from the German situation, but Bismarck’s work would never be complete until he had come to grim conclusions with France, and forced her to acquiesce in the union of South Germany with the North German Confederation.

After Austria had made peace, Napoleon demanded a “territorial enlargement” for France from Germany. He met now a decided refusal. France would probably have declared

<sup>1</sup> Except, of course, England in purely maritime warfare.

<sup>2</sup> A famous watering-place in southern France.



war, but the emperor's advisers told him that his army was in no condition for action. His final efforts came down to an attempt to purchase the small Grand Duchy of Luxembourg from the King of Holland. The city of Luxembourg was occupied by a Prussian garrison, but again Bismarck deluded the French into believing that this would be readily withdrawn. The King of Holland was ready to sell a useless possession, and a treaty of cession to France was drawn up and announced to Europe. Then suddenly Bismarck caused German public feeling to be aroused lest "German land"<sup>1</sup> be alienated to France. The Chancellor informed the King of Holland that, "in view of the condition of opinion in Germany," war would result if he went on with the sale. The Dutch, of course, dropped the matter. Napoleon was accordingly advertised as rebuffed and humiliated before all Europe. His hold upon France was already weakening: now his prestige at home and abroad was shaken sorely. From this time (down to 1870) the French watched the growing Prussian power with anxious, unfriendly eyes. "Herr von Bismarck has made me a dupe," cried Napoleon. "An Emperor of the French can be no dupe!"

During the following years certain reforms were undertaken in the French army which — Frenchmen were told — made it more than a match for the Prussians.<sup>2</sup>

**294. *The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (1870).*** Despite the unfriendly tension no hostilities occurred from 1866 to 1870. The summer of 1870 seemed to show the diplomatic sky with fewer clouds than usual. Then **war broke forth with astounding suddenness.** A revolution had occurred in Spain: the successful rebels offered their crown to a German prince of the House of Hohenzollern. The idea of a prince friendly to Prussia reigning at Madrid filled French statesmen

<sup>1</sup> Luxembourg had been part of the old German Confederation before 1866.

<sup>2</sup> These reforms seem to have been excellent — on paper: but they were most imperfectly executed.



with wrath. In the face of French clamors, the prince withdrew his candidacy. These things should have ended, but with incredible folly, Gramont, the French Foreign Minister, demanded of King William a pledge that "he would never allow the prince to renew his candidacy." The king took umbrage at the exacting demands and declined to permit Napoleon's envoy again to discuss the matter. Bismarck, already convinced that war with France was both necessary and desirable, and assured by Von Moltke that the army was perfectly prepared, now did a deliberate act which was like a red rag waved before an already irritated bull. He gave to the newspapers a dispatch touching the French demands, which **implied that a studied insult had been intended by the king to Napoleon and his ambassador.**<sup>1</sup>

This was July 14, 1870. In Paris, where matters were already tense, the council of imperial ministers resolved on immediate war. It was declared on July 19.

**295. *The Franco-Prussian War (1870-71).*** It is impossible to acquit Napoleon III and his ministers either of extreme knavery or extreme folly. It is not quite certain whether they knew that France was utterly unprepared for war, or whether they believed that she had a genuine chance to conquer. In the former case, they were reckless, treasonable adventurers who wrecked their country by taking gamblers' chances with her very life as the stake; in the latter case, they were living in a fool's paradise, when it was their ordinary duty to have learned the bitter truth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to commend Bismarck's morality in this action. He may well have believed a war with France for the interests of Germany necessary and sure to come sooner or later; but a more patient and scrupulous diplomacy might have long averted it, until perhaps even the selfish need thereof had disappeared. What he actually did was to publish an "edited" copy of a telegram from the king stating his treatment of the French demands. Bismarck struck out all the softening and qualifying phrases, and left the dispatch blunt and seemingly insulting. He afterwards gloried in his deed.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards the emperor and his advisers claimed they were driven to war by "the clamor of France." This is a futile excuse: it is the duty of a true statesman to avoid a disastrous act, even if it renders him very unpopular.



"We are thrice ready for war, down to the last soldier's shoestring," proclaimed Marshal Lebœuf, who claimed the chief knowledge and authority in the army. "We enter on the contest with a light heart," declaimed the prime minister, Ollivier, to the Chamber of Deputies. Vainly a few voices among the deputies spoke of moderation and delay. **"To Berlin!"** rang the cry in the Paris streets. France rushed almost gayly into the struggle, full of old memories of Austerlitz and Jena, and believing what her rulers told her — that all was prepared, and that victory was assured.

The moment the French forces began to mobilize, the rottenness of the Second Empire régime was evident. It was impossible to assemble anything like the 400,000 men expected. Transport and commissariat broke down utterly. **The armies on the frontiers were demoralized before a single battle.** Troops were sent hither and thither in the most aimless and reckless fashion. "I can't find my commander-in-chief, nor the men I am ordered to command," telegraphed a French general on reaching a frontier post. The higher officers were many of them self-seeking and incapable creatures who owed their posts to political favor. The emperor himself was in poor health and seemed scared and hesitant as the awful problem loomed before him. France, in short, lacked everything but bravery; this bravery saved her national honor, but very little else.

From the very outset, too, the French were outnumbered. Von Moltke's relentless military machine had organized practically the whole Prussian nation into an army. His plans worked almost automatically.<sup>1</sup> The first rounds of the war are soon told.

(1) A German force of some 100,000 routed a French army

<sup>1</sup> A story runs that, on the night of the declaration of war, the great general was almost asleep when the decisive news came. "Telegraph the orders in file number —," he directed his aide, and rolled over in his slumbers. Everything had long been arranged to meet just such an emergency!



of about 50,000, at **Wörth**, on the frontiers. The French fought gallantly, but were simply swamped by numbers. This put their whole campaign on the defensive.

(2) The main French army (about 175,000), under the incapable Bazaine, was driven into the fortress city of **Metz** after the great battle of **Gravelotte** (August 18), and there held blockaded. Nothing now hindered a march of the Prussians on Paris except a surviving army led by the best French general, MacMahon.

(3) Prudence dictated that **MacMahon** should try to check the Prussian attack on Paris, while new armies were recruited in France; but his desires to act thus were overcome by the news from the capital that a report of any further retreating meant "a revolution against the dynasty." Against his better judgment, MacMahon now tried to come to the relief of Metz. He was himself forced by superior numbers into **Sedan**, — hemmed in, and, after valorous but vain resistance, **forced to surrender**. Napoleon III was with him. The Germans boasted the capture of "one emperor,"<sup>1</sup> 39 generals, 2300 officers, and 84,000 men. There had been no victory like this in all modern history.

The "Second Empire" was already unpopular in Paris ere the war began. The first tidings of defeat awakened wrath and suspicion.<sup>2</sup> The news of Sedan drove the capital to frenzy. Once more there was sudden revolution. The Empress Eugénie fled to England. September 4, 1870, **the (Third) French Republic** was proclaimed, with a Provisional Government of the "National Defense," which strove with remarkable energy to check the Prussians and to save the national honor.

After Sedan the Prussians had marched straight on Paris. The siege lasted from September 19, 1870, to January, 1871.

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III was sent into easy captivity in Germany until the end of the war. Then he retired to England, where he died in 1873.

<sup>2</sup> The Government added to its unpopularity by issuing lying bulletins of successes, which were soon proved never to have been won.



The great city of 2,000,000 was changed into one desperately defended camp, and held out heroically against its blockaders, awaiting the relieving armies which were being raised in the French provinces. The most active member of the "National Defense" Government, **Gambetta**, had fled from Paris,<sup>1</sup> and put forth memorable efforts to assemble new armies in central and southern France. If bravery and patriotism could have saved Paris, the capital would have been rescued, but the new armies of Gambetta were really only hastily improvised militia. They had no chance against the perfectly organized and skillfully led host that held Paris as in a ring of iron. On October 27, 1870, **Bazaine had capitulated in Metz**, surrendering 176,000 men, after a shameful failure to break through his blockaders.<sup>2</sup> The German army before Metz could now be used for the investment of Paris. The winter was cold and added to the demoralization of the French. By January 28, 1871, Paris (long on starvation rations) was practically at the end of her supplies. The proud city capitulated and final peace soon followed, for France was exhausted and could fight no more.

The **Treaty of Frankfort** (May 10, 1871) was a notification to all Europe that France had ceased to be the "First Power" of the continent. The cost of Napoleon III's criminal blunder was terrible. Bismarck inexorably required: (1) **The cession of the frontier provinces of Alsace and Lorraine** (4700 square miles and 1,500,000 population). (2) The payment of a war indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs (\$1,000,000,000). France was

<sup>1</sup> Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon, and during the siege the Parisians communicated often with the outside world by balloon. This was almost the first practical use of aerial navigation, although, of course, the balloons were entirely non-dirigible, and it was largely luck where they landed.

<sup>2</sup> For this failure to struggle to the uttermost against his besiegers, and to hold out to the bitter end, when the mere fact of his resistance tied up a German army larger than his own, Bazaine was most righteously adjudged a traitor after the war. He died in disgrace and exile. He claimed to have considered that his loyalty was toward Napoleon III alone, and that he had no duty toward the new "Republic."



left humiliated, devastated, curtailed, and impoverished. No such single calamity had ever overtaken a great nation in modern history.<sup>1</sup>

296. *The German Empire* (1871). The Treaty of Frankfort was made, not with Prussia, but with **the German Empire**. At the outset of the war, Napoleon III had counted on the alliance or at least the neutrality of the South German states. He had found speedily that they had lined up with the Prussians to defend the common Fatherland against the old French enemy. After the marvelous succession of victories had kindled through all Germans a common enthusiasm, the South Germans felt themselves quite ready for the final step. On the suggestion of the King of Bavaria, and with all the other German kings, princes, and free cities concurring, King William assumed a prouder title. On January 18, 1871, while he lay with his army before Paris, in the great palace of Louis XIV at Versailles he **took the title of "German Emperor."**<sup>2</sup> The North German Confederation was enlarged to receive the South German states, and its name was forgotten in that of the **German Empire**.

The dream of centuries of a powerful and united Germany, able to renew the glorious memories of the mediæval Ottos and Hohenstaufens, had been realized. In the smoke of battle against alien France, the nation had found herself. Cavour had made Italy. Bismarck had made Germany. The old map of Europe was changed, indeed.

<sup>1</sup> A frightful epilogue to the siege of Paris was the outbreak of the radical socialistic element (March — May, 1871), who seized the city almost as soon as peace was declared and proclaimed the "**Commune of Paris**," an attempt to put Paris and all France on the basis of "communal autonomy" — i.e., each municipality and district was to possess extreme local rights, a scheme which, of course, would have given the Paris radicals every opportunity in the capital. A reign of anarchy and terror prevailed in the sorely afflicted city. The Republican Government put down the "Commune" after bloodshed and fighting more terrible than any in the regular siege. Many of the finest buildings in Paris were destroyed during the contest.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase, "Emperor of Germany," with its odious implication of superiority over the lesser German princes, was purposely avoided.



## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — The Olmütz Conference; William I; Von Moltke; the Schleswig-Holstein Question; Peace of Prague; North German Confederation; Bundesrath; Reichstag; Grand Duchy of Luxembourg; Sedan; "Government of the National Defense"; Treaty of Frankfort; the Commune of Paris.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Königgrätz (Sadowa); Metz; Sedan.
  - (b) Mark on the map the boundaries of the German Confederation, 1866. Locate the territories of Prussia: Schleswig, Holstein.
  - (c) Mark the bounds of the North German Confederation.
  - (d) Mark the bounds of the German Empire of 1871. Locate Alsace-Lorraine.
3. What were the conditions in Germany in 1848 which made impossible the forming of a real nation?
4. What was Bismarck's aim? Make a summary of the steps by which it was accomplished.
5. Compare Bismarck with Cavour as to character and policy.
6. Describe the Government under the North German Confederation.
7. The relations between Napoleon III and Bismarck to 1870.
8. How do you account for the overwhelming triumph of the Prussians in the Franco-Prussian War?

## EXERCISES

1. The Zollverein and its importance in the formation of the German Empire.
2. Bismarck; his internal policy. Compare it with Cavour's.
3. How did Italy help in the making of Germany?
4. Compare the difficulties which Bismarck had to overcome with those which confronted Cavour.
5. Was the war with France necessary to the making of a united Germany? Give reasons.
6. What justification was there for the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine?
7. The Commune of Paris.
8. Gambetta.
9. Thiers, and the Treaty of Frankfort.
10. The Spanish Revolution and the Ems telegram.

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*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 260-62, 281-99. Pattison: pp. 419-51. Lewis: pp. 681-753. Lodge: chapter XXVI, sections 21-23; XXVII, sections 7-10, 12-16. Robinson and Beard: vol. II, pp. 109-30.



## CHAPTER XXXIX

### NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

#### 297. *The Problem of 1830: The "Unreformed Parliament."*

In 1830, George IV sank within a dishonored grave. His successor, his brother, **William IV** (1830-37), was of somewhat better character than the last king, but he was neither conspicuously good nor great. When he came to the throne his ministers were confronting an intricate problem affecting the very foundations of the British Constitution, a problem long postponed and now clamorous for answer — the reform of the method of choosing the House of Commons.

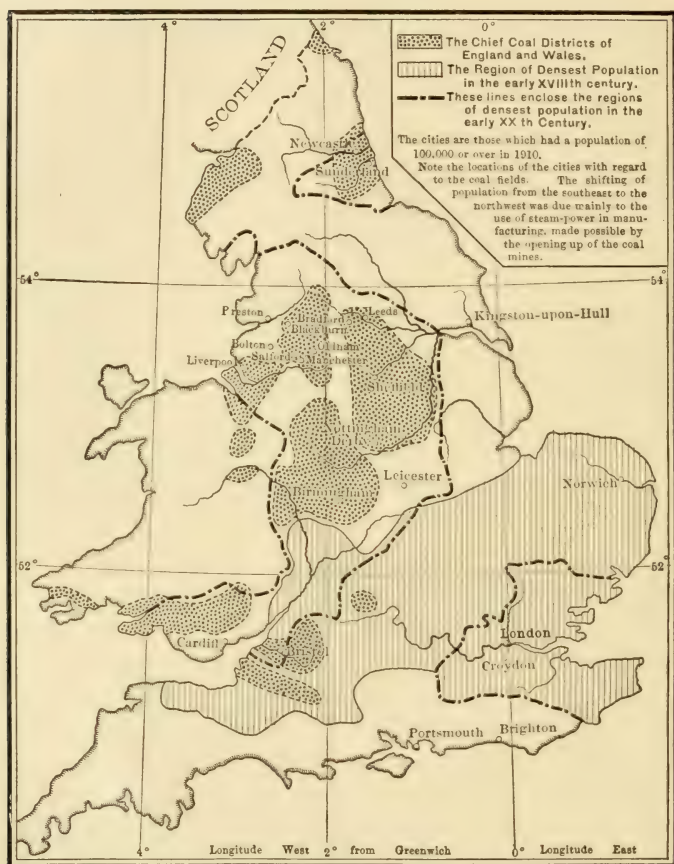
The "**Unreformed Parliament**" was more than an evil, it was a monstrous absurdity. Theoretically the English nation elected the members of the Commons, — it was the so-called "popular" branch of the legislature. Actually the method of choice differed in every "borough," thanks to the slow growth of local usage and of local interests. Only in a very few districts was there anything like a free ballot open to all the citizens.<sup>1</sup> The prevailing system made it easy for the great aristocratic families to control both houses of Parliament simultaneously. "Hereditary right" put the elder brother in the Lords, "family influence" put his younger brother, or some trusted friend of the noble house, in the Commons. England thus was still highly aristocratic in its whole Government.

It is difficult to generalize about conditions of evil which were not so much a system as an anarchy; but these were some of the capital abuses: —

<sup>1</sup> In the "counties" (unincorporated rural districts) all "forty shilling freeholders" (owners of land renting for £2 per year) could vote, and the system was fairly uniform. But the number of such voters was decidedly small.



(a) Many very small towns had the right to return to Parliament two members each; some towns even with only 23,



ENGLAND, SHOWING INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

19, or 13 voters.<sup>1</sup> These places had once been of fair consequence, but had dwindled away. On the other hand, thriving

<sup>1</sup> At Old Sarum there was no longer a town, — only a green mound where a town had once stood; but certain persons still kept the right to vote for Sarum and faithfully returned her members.



cities created by the new "industrial revolution" — e.g., Manchester — had no representatives at all.

(b) The members were very unequally distributed over the country. Ten South English counties (population, 3,000,000) returned 237 members. Thirty other counties (population, 8,000,000) sent only 252. The county of Cornwall alone sent 44; all Scotland (with eight times the population) was allowed only 45.

(c) The right to vote was most arbitrarily distributed. In some towns practically all the taxpayers could vote; in some the mayor and town council alone chose the members; in some, certain lucky individuals who had the special privilege.<sup>1</sup> In the county elections (country districts), the great landowners usually dictated the votes of their tenantry; and in 1828, the Duke of Newcastle actually evicted five hundred tenants who would not vote to please him.

(d) In these absurd elections **bribery was flagrant and often unabashed**. Noble lords sold "the family seat." Ignoble voters could be bought for so many guineas. A seat in Parliament could be readily purchased almost as a matter of open trade by any rich personage who was politically ambitious.

To outline this anarchy is to condemn it; yet even in 1830 the great Tory nobles and the leading English Churchmen were ready to denounce as treasonable and un-Christian any attempt to change "**the present happy Constitution.**" So great was the power of British conservatism!

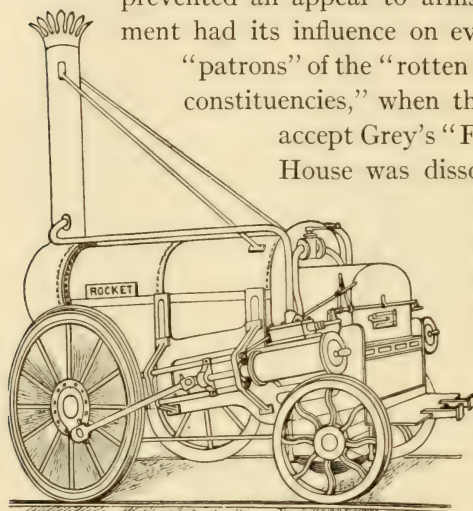
**298. The Great Reform Act (1832).** William IV became king in June, 1830. In September, his Tory Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, a far better soldier than statesman, asserted in open Parliament that there was no need of electoral

<sup>1</sup> In one Scottish district this actually occurred in a Parliamentary election: "Only *one* person attended the meeting [of lawful electors]. He, of course, took the chair, constituted the meeting, called over the roll of freeholders, took the vote, and *elected himself.*"



reform.<sup>1</sup> In November, Wellington had been driven to resign by the concentrated wrath of the country and a Whig Ministry led by **Lord Grey** was in his place.

The carrying of the "**Great Reform Bill**" marked, however, the most desperate Parliamentary struggle in the history of England. Only the national moderation and common sense prevented an appeal to arms. Rising public sentiment had its influence on even the "electors" and "patrons" of the "rotten boroughs" and "packed constituencies," when the Commons refused to accept Grey's "First Reform Bill." The House was dissolved; and bad as was



STEPHENSON'S LOCOMOTIVE "ROCKET"

Adopted for use on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1829

the electoral body, it now voted for its own reformation. A House of Commons was returned friendly to "Reform" (1831); but next the conservative element, distressed at the prospect of "democracy," and at the menace to "the landed interests," retreated upon the great

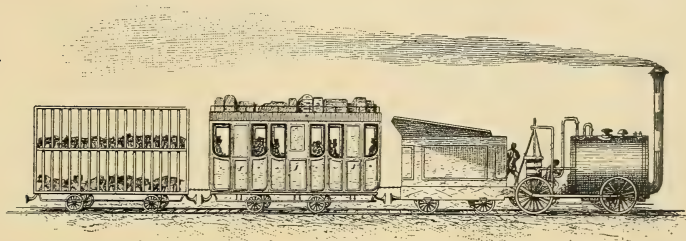
stronghold of conservatism — the House of Lords. The Peers twice threw back rejected Reform Bills upon the Commons. Grey and his ministers now demanded that the king exercise his prerogative, and create enough new Peers to swamp

<sup>1</sup> The Duke delivered a most amazing speech which made history. He declared that the existing system "possessed the full and entire confidence of the country," and that "no better system could be devised by the wit of man." The speech created an immediate uproar. It is told that on going out Wellington asked a friend "if he had said anything especial." "You have only announced the fall of your ministry," came the answer.



the Tory majority. When he refused, the ministry resigned, and Wellington for a moment tried to assume the Government; but he had practically all England against him. Armed revolt seemed impending if the Lords did not yield. Grey returned to office with the royal pledge to create the necessary Peers; and the mere threat alone was necessary. **The Tory Lords capitulated. The Reform Bill became a law.**

It was not (from the American standpoint) a highly revolutionary measure. The rotten boroughs were disfranchised; the larger towns were given members; but the seats were not yet distributed on a strict basis of population. In the towns



TRAIN IN 1836

*(After a lithograph in the Print Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale)*

votes were given all citizens who owned or rented houses worth £10 (\$50) per year. In the country districts the franchise was not quite so liberal. In brief, only the middle class was enfranchised, and most workingmen and farm laborers were still without the votes. In 1836, there were 6,023,000 adult males in the kingdom; yet there were **only 839,500 voters. Great Britain was very far from being a democracy;** but the middle-class townspeople now had the votes as well as the farmers (as formerly); and the new manufacturing and moneyed (capitalistic) class was now to rival in political power the old landed aristocracy.

**299. The era of liberal reforms.** Incomplete as it was, the



"Great Reform Bill" was an earnest of better things. Parliament would now respond freely to the opinion of the middle classes, at least. The English aristocracy, like the king, still kept an enormous social influence, but its political monopoly was ended.

Following the impetus given by the Parliamentary Reform movement, a long series of liberalizing legislation was carried in the next few years. Slavery was abolished in the British colonies; the poor-laws were amended to make something like the scientific treatment of the problem of non-employment and poverty possible; the old system of city government was amended by a great Municipal Reform Act (1835); and in 1839 a new postal scheme, instituting the famous penny-post, was voted, — really the genesis of the modern cheap postal systems of every civilized country.

All these and many things more were excellent, but a great mass of the poorer people demanded something further. This was the era of the **Chartist Movement**:<sup>1</sup> a radical agitation among the working classes, which urged the abolition of hereditary nobility and demanded manhood suffrage, and kindred things which would have left England a pure democracy with a king only in name. The Chartists "demonstrated" with monster processions, petitions to Parliament, and the like; once or twice they seemed fomenting actual insurrection; but after 1848 their movement dwindled away. England had become more prosperous; there was less discontent among the industrial classes; and various of their less radical demands had been granted.

300. *Queen Victoria* (1837-1901). Five years after the

<sup>1</sup> The name comes from the "People's Charter," in which the "Chartists'" demands were summed up. The program seems, from an American standpoint, eminently reasonable. The six chief points were: (1) Manhood suffrage; (2) vote by secret ballot; (3) annually elected Parliaments; (4) payment of members of the Commons; (5) abolition of property qualifications; (6) equal electoral districts. All these points (except the third) have been substantially won since then.



Reform victory, a blessed change took place upon the British throne. William IV was succeeded by his eighteen-year-old niece, **Victoria**, who reigned for over sixty-three years.

When Victoria came to the throne, the monarchy had been discredited by the moral worthlessness of its last two incumbents. Affection and real loyalty for the person of the sovereign was at a very low ebb. Victoria altered this absolutely. She was not a woman of remarkably brilliant parts; at times she showed herself decidedly prejudiced and even narrow-minded; but in the main she may be described as an aggressively good woman who knew her place. For rottenness at court she substituted an almost austere standard of purity. She kept herself well informed upon all political matters; and while she never undertook to dictate the policy of her ministers, she not infrequently exercised a legitimate influence upon them in the direction of moderation.<sup>1</sup> It was of inestimable value to England to feel that at the center of the national life there was a high-minded, intelligent woman whose ideals were the ideals of her most intelligent and God-fearing subjects. In 1840, she married **the German Prince Albert**,<sup>2</sup> a "Prince Consort" of like nature with herself, and their family life, blessed with nine children, was an inspiration and an example to all Britain.

The "Victorian Age," to which she has justly given her name, was in the main one of ascending prosperity for her country. It was marked by a literary activity which is suggested by the names of Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, and Robert Browning. While the Continent was shaken by great wars and revolutions, England (barring the Crimean War<sup>3</sup> and native outbreaks in the colonies) had almost continuous peace. Despite the existence of many sore problems, the England of

<sup>1</sup> For example, in 1861, at the time of the Trent difficulty with America, she prevented her ministers from taking sudden and drastic action, which would probably have brought on war with the United States.

<sup>2</sup> He was of the principality of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. He died in 1861.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter XLI, section 315.



Victoria continued the first industrial, the first commercial, and the first maritime power of the world.

301. *The repeal of the Corn Laws* (1846). The Whigs (or **Liberals**, as they were soon called) continued in power for some years after their victory for Reform. Their impetus gradually waned. In 1841, they were finally replaced by a **Conservative** (Tory) Ministry led by **Sir Robert Peel**.

The Conservatives were still the party of aristocracy and landed wealth, but they had learned wisdom, and they were prepared to execute many wholesome reforms, provided always the door was not opened for the violent "Radicals" and "Chartists."

The great problem of Peel's administration was the tariff, or, as was commonly said, the **Corn Laws**.<sup>1</sup>

England was then under a "protective system," with the tariff especially framed to protect the farmer against the competition of foreign grain. But the country was rapidly increasing in population, a population devoted almost entirely to manufacturing, while the limits of English wheat production had long been reached. **The only solution was to import foreign grain.** The great artisan class, backed by the capitalist manufacturers (who with their new machinery did not fear foreign competition), clamored for "free food," but the "agricultural interest," associated as it was with the old country gentry, was long able to beat back every attack. Substantially the question was, — Should England try to keep up the appearance of being a farming country, or should she frankly throw over her agriculture and trust to her factories and her merchant ships alone?

Peel had been put in power as a representative of the landed interests, but his position soon became difficult. In 1838, the "**Anti-Corn Law League**" had been organized, and was skill-

<sup>1</sup> English usage makes the term "corn" apply to most kinds of grain, especially wheat; in America the name is commonly applied to "maize" only.



fully led by the famous orators and economists, Cobden and Bright. They waged a bitter war upon the country aristocracy and its past method of exploiting all England in its selfish interest. Their agitation was having marked results, when in 1845 a climatic crisis gave double point to their arguments. In that year the crops failed in England. The next year came a worse potato famine in Ireland. When tens of thousands were virtually starving, it was criminality to bar out foreign grain. Peel threw his past logic to the winds, and despite the anathemas of his former partisans he carried a law which practically abolished the protective tariff on grain (1846).

The uproar raised by this act drove Peel from office in a few months. He was succeeded by **Lord John Russell**, with a Liberal Ministry. The protective principle had now received its deathblow. With few additional struggles nearly all the remaining customs duties were repealed, leaving only a few for mere revenue purposes. **For many years now England has been on a free-trade basis.** Her agriculture did, indeed, languish sorely; but it was claimed that her commerce and manufacturing gained infinitely more than enough to make up the loss. Down to nearly the end of the nineteenth century, England seemed well contented with her free-trade policy.

**302. *The Indian, or Sepoy, Mutiny* (1857-58).** In 1857 came an event in Asia which nearly ruined the great colonial empire on which the prosperity of England largely rested. India was now an English possession: its millions were either ruled directly by English magistrates or by "protected" native princes who were wholly under English influence. There was one great weakness in this vast dominion, however: the bulk of the army was native-born, though under British officers. Hitherto these "Sepoy" troops had proved themselves obedient and valiant in behalf of their foreign masters. The number of English regiments in India was small and their posts widely scattered. That the Sepoys represented any danger



to English supremacy was scouted by most Europeans who claimed to understand India.

In 1857, however, the Sepoy troops suddenly mutinied. Probably religious prejudice, a groundless fear that their officers were trying to make them give up their native religions, was their impelling motive.<sup>1</sup> In many points in northern India the Sepoys shot down their officers and raised the standard of revolt. For a moment it seemed as if the English cause was ruined: but fortunately the bulk of the peaceful population and very many of the native princes refused to join the mutineers. Although there were some frightful scenes, e.g., at Cawnpore, where a large number of English women and children, who had been captured, were massacred in cold blood by the rebel leader, Nana Sahib, **the small English armies rapidly gained the upper hand.** Never did Europeans show their fighting superiority over Asiatics better than in this desperate campaign. The result, of course, was to fasten the English yoke more firmly on India than ever.<sup>2</sup> The Government was reorganized, the old "East India Company," a great trading corporation, was deprived of its political power, and a direct "Viceroy" of the Crown was appointed, and in 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed "Empress of India." The great Hindu land remains the keystone of the wide British Empire.

303. *The Second Reform Act, and Gladstone.* Following the retirement of Peel, the control of the Government alternated for nearly two decades between the Conservatives and

<sup>1</sup> The earliest outbreak of rebellion had a picturesque cause. At one small garrison town, a new style of cartridges had been issued to the Sepoys. These cartridges had to be bitten in the teeth ere being rammed into the muskets. The natives alleged this ammunition had been smeared with a mixture of cow's fat and pig's grease in order to violate their respective religions. The cow was sacred to the Hindu, and the pig was an abomination to the Mohammedan.

<sup>2</sup> The English dealt with the insurgents in a way which at once indicated their own fears, and the need of teaching the Asiatics a bitter lesson. Numbers of captured Sepoys were "blown from the muzzle of guns" — i.e., were tied in front of a cannon loaded with a blank cartridge, then the piece was discharged.



the Liberals. A demand again came strongly for a new "**Reform**" of the **Commons**, as the measure of 1832 now seemed hopelessly inadequate. In 1867, while the Conservatives (led nominally by Lord Derby) were in power, they were forced to undertake a very limited Reform Bill, which, however, in the welter of party politics, was presently made far more radical and democratic in its character than most Conservatives had anticipated. "A leap in the dark," Lord Derby petulantly called it; but his avowed lieutenant, the actual leader of the party, **Disraeli** (one of the most daring and versatile politicians England has ever seen), induced a majority in Parliament to accept the bill. The new law was still far from establishing purely democratic rule in England, but votes in the town districts were now given to "lodgers" (paying a rental of £10 or over), as well as merely to householders, and in the country to small farmers. Also there was a more equitable distribution of seats. For the time being this reform gave wide satisfaction.

The next election, however, brought the Liberals again to power. Their Prime Minister, **Gladstone**, a statesman of noble ambition and singular abilities, especially for conducting internal reforms, carried through many long desired pieces of legislation. In Ireland, the Established (Episcopal) Church, of which the adherents were a minority even among the Protestant minority of Irishmen, was "disestablished," and ceased to draw support and sanction from the State. Also the absurd old system, whereby commissions in the British army could be purchased by would-be officers, was done away with. Many other useful pieces of minor legislation were accomplished; but Gladstone and the Liberals represented a view of British foreign policy with which many of their countrymen had little sympathy. They were "**Little Englanders**," who regarded the colonial empire as something non-essential to the nation's prosperity, and they even contemplated cheerfully the time when such colonies, for example, as New Zealand should



become independent countries. To Disraeli and his type of Conservatives this view was monstrous. The "**British Empire**," they held, must be preserved, consolidated, and from time to time extended, if need be by an occasional war. In 1874, Gladstone dissolved Parliament, and the election told that he had lost the confidence of the country. The Conservatives and Disraeli were returned to power by a great majority.

304. *Disraeli and Imperialism* (1874-80). Disraeli was a strident, showy leader whose real interest was in foreign politics. The whole Conservative policy, of course, was to divert the nation from troublesome domestic questions, where the preservation of time-honored institutions might be at stake, to outlying matters, where "patriotism" and "the common welfare" might leave little room for conventional debate. Thus, in 1875, Disraeli's Government purchased for the nation a majority of the shares in the great **Suez Canal**,<sup>1</sup> thereby assuring to England a leading voice in the control of the waterway which was vitally important to her hold on India. The years 1876 to 1878 formed a period of great tension in Turkey: there were fiendish massacres of the Bulgarian Christians by the Turks, and Russia declared war upon the Ottoman Empire. Disraeli, despite loud English clamors against the Turks, took a very hostile attitude toward Russia.<sup>2</sup> The czar's empire, in his opinion, was the destined rival in the Orient of the queen's dominions, and Disraeli was ready even for war to prevent the Russians from seizing Constantinople. Thanks to a policy of mingled firmness and bluster, the Prime Minister (who had just become Lord Beaconsfield) brought about the diplomatic Congress of Berlin, where the Russians were forced to relin-

<sup>1</sup> This great enterprise had been completed in 1869 by a company under French auspices and managed by the indomitable promoter, De Lesseps.

<sup>2</sup> For the Turko-Russian war, see chapter XL, section 315. In the Treaty of Berlin which ended the war, and which Disraeli in substance dictated, very little attention was paid to the real needs of the Christian Balkan peoples. Disraeli thus became in a measure responsible for the bloody Balkan war of 1912-13.



quish a large part of their conquests. It seemed a great triumph for "Jingoism" when Beaconsfield returned from Berlin with "the treaty in his pocket," but the nation was growing weary of his threatenings and ostentation. The election of 1880 returned the Liberals and Gladstone by a large majority.<sup>1</sup>

**305. *The return of Gladstone: the Home Rule Question.*** Gladstone's second administration busied itself with various desirable internal reforms, including a **Third Parliamentary Reform Act**, which gave the right of voting for members of the House of Commons to practically all the laboring classes (1884). Despite the Liberals' dislike for an advanced foreign policy, the disorders into which the Government of the native Khedives of Egypt was sinking, and the danger that the Suez Canal might fall into hostile hands, led to a British military **occupation of Egypt** (1882). This proceeding was intensely distasteful to France, and the English represented their seizure of the country as only temporary; but the time has never come when the English have dared to leave the khedive to his own devices. Egypt is the veritable gateway of the road to India. The English garrison and the English representative (whose word is law to the native rulers) remain in Egypt unto this day.

But the great question of Gladstone's administration was that of Ireland. **The Irish had been chronically unhappy since the ill-considered "Union" of 1800.** In the forties, Daniel O'Connell, an orator of marvelous potency, had stirred his countrymen to the limits of frenzy by his demands for the "Repeal" of the Act of Union. Repeated famines and a heavy emigration to America made the population of Ireland decline

<sup>1</sup> The reaccession of Gladstone illustrates a feature of the unwritten Constitution of Britain. Beaconsfield was exceedingly well liked by Queen Victoria. She regretted to see him retire. She had a corresponding dislike for Gladstone. It is said that she strove earnestly to induce some other Liberal leader to form a ministry; all refused, saying that Gladstone was the only possible man who could command the votes of the party. Most unwillingly the queen summoned him to office.



rapidly. There were conspiracies and frequent rioting to which the English Government answered with "Coercion Acts," substantially putting the country under martial law. In 1867, the "**Fenian Movement**," an elaborate secret undertaking to set up an independent Irish Republic, came to a climax in an overt attempt to raise rebellion.<sup>1</sup> The answer was, of course, suppression by armed force, and certain palliative legislation which did not satisfy the Irish. Their members in Parliament had vainly agitated for home rule, but saw little progress until 1877 when the famous **Parnell** became their House leader.

Parnell succeeded in welding the Irish members into a solid group which made itself a thorn in the side of the Government, obstructing all proposed legislation, voting with its opponents and generally making its existence miserable. At the same time a formidable "Land League" in Ireland undertook what amounted to the coercion of landlords<sup>2</sup> and government agents by boycotting, moral intimidation, and in some extreme cases downright violence. Gladstone passed coercion acts, and ordered the "Land League" dissolved. In 1881, Parnell and certain associates were held for some months in prison. In 1882, Lord Cavendish, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was murdered in Dublin. The situation, in short, was nearly that of civil war. Gladstone was becoming convinced that the situation was intolerable and could not be cured by half-measures. **In 1886, he surprised many of his own partisans, even, by introducing a Home Rule Bill, granting self-government and a Dublin Parliament to Ireland.**

<sup>1</sup> In 1866, there had been an attempt by Fenian sympathizers in America to cross from the United States and to invade Canada.

<sup>2</sup> The Irish landlords were charged with extreme severity in increasing rents, in refusing to renew leases for land on which the tenant had made many improvements, in making brutal evictions of embarrassed and unwelcome tenants, etc. The fact that most landlords were Protestants, who often lived in London on money wrung from their Catholic tenantry, did not add to their popularity. Captain Boycott, an Irish land agent, was subjected to such coercion and harassment, in 1880, that he gave his name to the process of "boycotting."





ISABELLA

Queen of Castile and Leon ; wife of Ferdinand of Aragon ; patron of Columbus  
Born 1451 Died 1504



CATHERINE DE MEDICI

Queen of Henry II of France  
Born 1519 Died 1589



MARIA THERESA

Wife of the Emperor Francis I and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia  
Born 1717 Died 1780



VICTORIA

Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901) and Empress of India (1876-1901)  
Born 1819 Died 1901

## FAMOUS QUEENS







The joy of the Irish was great, but the Prime Minister's move was premature. The Commons refused to accept the bill, and Gladstone was driven from office. **The Conservatives, led by Lord Salisbury, ruled England from 1886 to 1892.** Then for the third time Gladstone (the "Grand Old Man," his admirers called him) became Prime Minister. The Home Rule project was renewed and passed the Commons, but the Lords threw it out, and the Government was not confident enough to press the battle. In 1895, the Conservatives again gained office, and for years home rule was a dead issue. The Conservatives, however, were forced to enact various measures removing the undoubted injustices in Ireland,<sup>1</sup> and as the century drew to a close that sorely afflicted island seemed more prosperous materially, although still clamorous for her own administration and Parliament:

**306. *The British colonial empire.*** The Conservative administration, toward the end of the nineteenth century, saw a great increase in enthusiasm among Englishmen for the "Empire." Gradually it had come to the consciousness that the politics of Britain were no longer those of two islands off the coast of Europe, but of a series of wide lands and continents which perpetuated the British laws, manners, and speech in every quarter of the globe. Excluding the great Indian domain and the numerous Oriental and West India islands, it was realized that in the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the great colonies of South Africa<sup>2</sup> and New Zealand there existed nations genuinely independent, and held to England only by the ties of affection and copartnership in a common tradition and a common weal. For all internal

<sup>1</sup> The particular end of recent legislation has been to make it easy by government loans for the Irish peasants to buy land for their small farms, and so escape the clutches of the landlords. These "Land Acts" have undoubtedly cured the most serious grievances of the Irish poor, which have been economic rather than political; but the demand for home rule has lost none of its force.

<sup>2</sup> For the Boer War and its results in British Africa, see chapter XL, section 313.



matters **these colonies were entirely self-governing**. "Greater Britain" and "Imperial Federation" had become familiar words charged with vast future significance.

**307. The death of Queen Victoria (1901).** On January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died at the age of eighty-one. During her long lifetime she had seen her people increase marvelously in material prosperity and power as well as on the nobler side of civilization. So long had she reigned that to almost two generations "**the good Queen**" had appeared as a regular institution, extra-human and immutable. Her passing told all the world that the nineteenth century, with its sins, its errors, but also its marvelous progress, had passed away likewise to make room for the unknown problems of the twentieth.

### REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Industrial Revolution; Old Sarum; the Chartist Movement; Corn Laws; the Indian Mutiny; "Little Englanders"; Congress of Berlin; Daniel O'Connell; Fenian Movement; Irish Land League; Home Rule; Imperial Federation.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate the chief cities which were given the right of representation in Parliament by the Reform Bill of 1832 (see Map of the British Isles since 1300, page 290).
  - (b) Mark the chief colonial possessions of England.
3. Describe the conditions regarding the elections to the House of Commons before 1830.
4. Make a summary of the three Reform Bills; showing dates, ministers who carried them through Parliament, and provisions.
5. What do you consider the great social, industrial, and political reforms in England at this period?
6. Who were the chief Prime Ministers during this period? What did each accomplish?
7. Why did the Revolutions of 1848 on the Continent have so little effect upon England?
8. The relations of England with Ireland since 1800.

### EXERCISES

1. Find other examples of the "rotten boroughs." How was their existence justified by the Tories?



2. Previous attempts at reform. Why had they failed?
3. Cobden and Bright. The repeal of the Corn Laws.
4. The Irish Famine and its results.
5. England in the Crimean War.
6. England in Egypt: General Gordon.
7. The influence of Queen Victoria upon England's foreign policy.
8. The Irish Land Acts. What have been their effects upon the economic and political conditions in Ireland?
9. Make a brief digest of the character and work of these men: — Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli, and the Marquis of Salisbury.
10. The growth of industry and commerce during the nineteenth century.

## READINGS

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 207-21, 364-65, 371-75. Lodge: chapter XXVIII, sections 3-5, 11. Gibbins: pp. 179-89, 223-25. An English history (Ransome, pp. 936-1040). Robinson and Beard: vol. II, pp. 181-261.



## CHAPTER XL

### THE MOST RECENT AGE IN EUROPE

SINCE 1870 there has been a comparative absence of striking events in Europe. The great process of "nation-building" has been largely accomplished. In nearly every country there are constitutions giving a large extent of political liberty. Civilization has moved steadily forward every year. But it has been a somewhat unspectacular, silent advance, wherein the results are easier to notice than the processes. Furthermore, we are still too close to events since 1870 for us to see them in their true historical perspective. It will be many years before the history of Europe from the Franco-Prussian War down to the Balkan War can be fitly written. Nevertheless, the great facts about the great nations confront us every day; and in a bald, summary manner they must be stated.

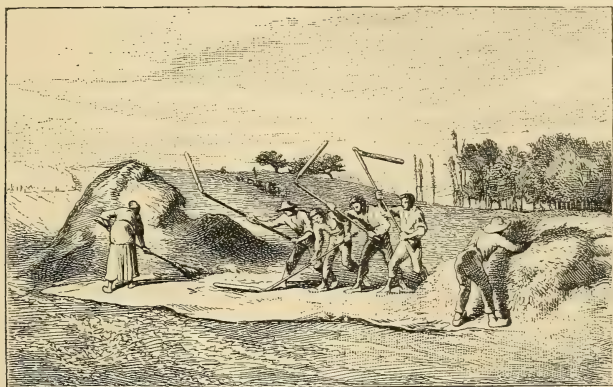
**308. *France since (1871) the Third Republic.*** The defeat by Germany left France humiliated, demoralized, and dismembered. She was no longer "the First Power in Europe." For a moment it seemed doubtful if she were a Great Power at all. The terrible Paris Commune<sup>1</sup> had threatened to plunge her into sheer anarchy. When at length peace and order returned, Frenchmen found themselves a more sober, a less self-confident nation than before their great chastening. But it was soon evident that France had been bent, not broken. In a surprisingly short time the economic damage of the war was repaired. A great outpouring of patriotic enthusiasm subscribed many times over for the national bonds, which were to meet the huge war indemnity, and thus rid the land of the hated Prussians. With a high earnestness which did them vast credit Frenchmen

<sup>1</sup> See p. 405, section 236.



turned to the task of building a newer and better France on the ruins of the rotten "Second Empire."

The "Third Republic," which had been proclaimed when Napoleon III was cast out, did not have the enthusiastic support of a large part of the nation. At first it was little more than a provisional government. But, as said Thiers, the leading statesman of the day, "It is the Republic which divides us least"; and despite the Royalists and the still active



WINNOWING BY FLAIL, LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

*(After a woodcut by Jacque, published in L'Illustration)*

Bonapartists, the Republic survived — largely because its enemies were very ill-united.

In 1873, the government was, indeed, so far in the hands of the friends of monarchy that it was actually proposed to call the Royalist pretender, "Henry V," to the throne of France; but the would-be king stupidly refused to return unless he could have the old white standard of the Bourbons. "The *chassepots* [army rifles] will go off of themselves," pithily declared a general when it was thus proposed to give up the tricolor flag, beloved by the army. The Government dared not risk a revolt of the troops, and this golden opportunity for the Monarchists never returned. In 1875, after much hesita-



tion, a **republican constitution** was at length adopted.<sup>1</sup> In 1879, President MacMahon (an honest Monarchist who had tried to use his office to secure the return of the kings) was compelled to resign. Since then the Royalists and Bonapartists, though they have never ceased to conspire and to agitate, have seen the Third Republic become more and more acceptable to the people of France. It has proved to be the most satisfactory and stable government the country has had since 1789.

Three times this Republic has been in serious peril, but three times it has defied its ill-wishers. Between 1886 and 1889 a political adventurer, **General Boulanger**, made demagogic efforts to secure such a popular following that he could seize the government by a *coup d'état*. His brilliant superficial qualities made him very popular with the less intelligent voters, but he lacked the nerve to strike a blow like that of Napoleon III. His opportunity slipped by, sober public opinion rallied against him, and he was driven into exile in Belgium (in 1889).

In 1893, the great **Panama Canal Company**, in which De Lesseps (builder of the Suez Canal) had persuaded Frenchmen to invest enormous sums, collapsed utterly. It was found that the company had dissipated its capital, amid circumstances of graft and corruption. Many French statesmen were besmirched and the Government was sadly discredited, though less seriously than in 1889, and no catastrophe came.

In 1899, the case of **Captain Dreyfus** (a Jewish army officer accused of selling military secrets to Germany) convulsed France. His defenders declared that an innocent man was being ruined to cover up grave corruption in the War Depart-

<sup>1</sup> This constitution is mainly on the English model — without, of course, a hereditary sovereign. There is a legislature of two houses, a lower house (Chamber of Deputies) elected for four years, and a Senate (some members at first appointive, but now all elective for nine years). The President is elected for seven years by the two houses sitting together as one body. This presidential office is highly honored, but somewhat feeble in power. The President can do nothing without the consent of his Ministers, and these are "responsible" to the Chamber of Deputies, on the English cabinet principle.



ment: the enemies of Dreyfus avowed they were fighting for "the army and the honor of France." The whole nation took sides: the military element, the unthinking mob, and most of the Royalists (for political reasons) demanded the punishment of Dreyfus, but calmness and justice at length prevailed. His innocence was established, and the attempt to make capital of "the attack on the army" failed. The Republic was stronger than ever.

Since 1900 the French ministries have been at bitter odds with the Catholic Church. The Church has been accused of secretly favoring the Royalists, and of teaching only perfunctory loyalty to the Republic.<sup>1</sup> Laws have been passed practically dispersing the orders of monks and nuns, and in 1905 ("Separation Law") **the French Government ceased to support any State Church**, putting the Catholics on exactly the same terms of unofficial tolerance as the Protestants and Jews.

France in the twentieth century has no longer the commanding power she had in the eighteenth: but she is still a strong, self-contained, and highly intelligent nation, a leader in all the movements of human uplift. Her wealth is growing steadily.<sup>2</sup> She has built up a colonial empire second to that of England. The "lost provinces" have not been recovered, but otherwise most of the calamity of 1870 has been obliterated. Modern civilization owes much to a great number of peoples, but to almost none does it owe more than to the French. Not many are the ideas and ideals which have not sooner or later felt the quickening touch of French genius. France to-day is by no means a decadent nation: she will surely make great contributions to the future.

<sup>1</sup> As early as 1877 the great Republican leader Gambetta made his famous declaration, "*Le Cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*" ("Where there's Clericalism, there's our foe!").

<sup>2</sup> But not her population. France is growing more slowly than any other European nation. This puts her at a military disadvantage with her old foe, Germany.



**309. *Germany after the unification.*** The victory over France left Germany the first military power in the world. That position she has retained and has added to it a great dominion in the realm of commerce. The German Government (and that of Prussia, its predominant unit) has been less liberal, in the sense of giving political rights to the ordinary citizen, than most other enlightened countries. The power of the monarch is still great, as is also that of the military aristocracy. But usually this power has been intelligently exercised. It is as if monarchy were trying to justify its right to exist, by giving proofs of extreme efficiency.

Down to 1888 the throne remained with the kindly and pious Kaiser William I, who (conscious of his limitations as a politician) was quite willing to leave most public affairs to the "Iron Chancellor," the mighty Prince Bismarck. William I was succeeded for a few months by his highly liberal and popular son Frederick, but the new ruler was suffering from an incurable disease, and reigned only ninety-nine days. After him came his own son, **William II (1888-19 )**, only twenty-nine years old, and until his accession a profound admirer of Bismarck. He had not reigned long, however, before it became evident that the new Emperor was too masterful a ruler to listen to the dictation of the hitherto indispensable Chancellor. In 1890 he "dropped the pilot" — Bismarck was dismissed<sup>1</sup> (to the great wrath of most Germans); and since then William II has never had a minister who was not distinctly a subordinate. The new Emperor seemed a man of mediæval ideas and ideals. "There is only one master in this country," he asserted, "and I am he." And he declared that he "was responsible for his actions to God and his conscience alone." But although often subject to bitter criticism for unwise speeches and autocratic actions, William II has, on the whole, displayed great

<sup>1</sup> Bismarck died in 1898. Before his death outwardly friendly relations had been established between him and the Emperor.



intelligence in advancing his country's welfare; he has often "rattled the scabbard," but he has kept from war; he has not loved the rule of public opinion, but he has not defied it. In 1913, he stood far higher in the esteem of his own people and of Europe than in 1890.

Since the war with France the Constitution of Germany and Prussia has remained substantially unchanged. Public interest has usually revolved around two great points: (1) Socialism; and (2) the increase of the army and the navy.

**Socialism** in Germany is not entirely what the name implies in other lands. There is a general demand for more liberal institutions, for less power to the monarch, no matter how efficient his rule. The Socialists are really, then, the party of democratic protest.<sup>1</sup> From election to election (when members of the Imperial Reichstag have been chosen), the Socialist vote has increased from 493,000 in 1877 to 3,251,000 in 1907. The Government has not dared to reenact the stern laws against their societies which had been passed by Bismarck. The Emperor has denounced their "traitorous rabble" and all the aristocracy and wealth of Germany has been against them: yet their position seems stronger than ever. The great growth of the German cities (thanks to the new development of manufacturing) adds to their numbers. Some day possibly they may make a real bid for the control of the Government.<sup>2</sup>

**The military problem** in Germany is a perennial one. The

<sup>1</sup> Of course a great part of the Socialist voters believe in the whole of the ordinary socialist doctrines: but it is safe to say that if by any chance the Socialists controlled the Government in Germany, they would hesitate long ere putting their full program into effect.

<sup>2</sup> Up to date the German monarchs have been able to control the Reichstag — and consequently the course of legislation — by the fact that there are not two great parties in Germany; only a series of groups of delegates. Thus, besides the Socialists there are the "Conservatives," the "Liberals" (very "moderate" reformers), and especially the "Center" (the Catholic party), as well as smaller followings. With the great court influence behind them, the imperial ministers can almost always pick up a majority from these groups for an important measure.



wresting of Alsace and Lorraine from France left Germany a legacy of hate across the border which possibly has cost more than the value of all the conquests.<sup>1</sup> Russia, too, has not been friendly: and the possibility of a great war on both frontiers has been a constant nightmare to most German statesmen. Despite the opposition of the Socialists to "Militarism," the great standing army, based on universal conscription, has been maintained, and in 1913 it was deliberately increased, the compelling reason being a dread of the increased power of the Slavic States following the downfall of Turkey in the Balkan War.

Since William II came to power the German navy has also become formidable. "Our future is upon the ocean," the Emperor asserted early in his reign: and his whole policy has been (while maintaining the army) to create a navy almost a match for England. The New German navy is to-day a most formidable fighting machine.<sup>2</sup> The English were already fearful of German commercial rivalry. Now they see in the German navy a menace to the integrity of their empire. Between England and the military clique in Germany there exists at present the same bad blood and latent hostility that there was formerly between the "natural enemies," England and France.

In the twentieth century Germany is leading Europe in many forms of civilized activity. Her commerce and manufacturing have enormously increased and she is no longer a poor, strictly agricultural country. "Modern science" with all therein implied has seemed to make Germany its own peculiar home. Their powers of organization and of drastic thorough-

<sup>1</sup> France is still (despite recent quietness) anxious for "revanche." "Think of it always: speak of it never," was Gambetta's injunction to his countrymen; but Frenchmen are not always silent in their hopes and hatred!

<sup>2</sup> This growth of a war marine has been accompanied by the building of a merchant marine second only to that of England. There are no finer monuments to the success of the "New Germany," and all that goes with it, than the great steamship companies, the Hamburg-American and the North-German Lloyd.



ness have carried the Germans far. But their problems are not all solved. They have bitter foreign enemies, and at home some modification of the class tyranny of the aristocracy seems inevitable.

**310. *The new Italy.*** Since 1870, Italy also has been making marked progress, but without an accompaniment of exciting events. It needed a mighty effort (after the enthusiasm over "national unity" had waned) to turn to the solid, constructive task of building a free, powerful, and enlightened nation. Italy has been disturbed by more than her share of socialist and anarchist agitation; and the status of the Popes, who (from their retreat in the Vatican) have never ceased to denounce the deprivation of their temporal power, creates a still harder problem for the new monarchy. Again, Italian party politics have often been "practical" and corrupt, and some of the cabinet ministers have proved leaders of no high order. King Victor Emmanuel II, the hero of "United Italy," died in 1878. His son Humbert (I) the Good, reigned until 1900,<sup>1</sup> and then was succeeded by his own son in turn, Victor Emmanuel III, a prince of remarkable ability. Under his guidance Italy has taken a worthy place among the Great Powers of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

**311. *The Austro-Hungarian Empire.*** After their humiliation in 1866 the Hapsburg statesmen were compelled to reorganize their empire. Their German aspirations had been destroyed: they perforce had to give heed to the problems of the unwieldy mass of their non-German subjects. In 1867, Emperor Francis Joseph placed his realm on the basis of the "**Dual Monarchy**" — **Austria and Hungary**: each half with

<sup>1</sup> He was killed by an anarchist. After an earlier attempt against his life, he is reported to have said, "Assassination is one of the perquisites of royalty." A grim and true saying under modern conditions.

<sup>2</sup> In 1912, after a brief and somewhat bloodless war, Italy won Tripoli from Turkey. This gives the Italians the possibilities of a great realm in North Africa, but as yet it has only cost them heavily in men and money, and its commercial advantages are in the distance.



very complete internal autonomy, its own elective Parliament, ministry, etc. The Emperor,<sup>1</sup> with control of the army and of the foreign policy, is the chief uniting link that remains. On the whole, the scheme has worked well so far as the mere toleration is concerned, but within each half of the empire there is a perfect vortex of hostile races contending, with perpetual hate, for the mastery.<sup>2</sup> Whether after the death of the beloved Francis Joseph this peculiar "Austro-Hungary" (which is rather a collection of peoples under a single ruler than a real "nation") can be held together is one of the questions of present-day Europe.

**312. *The Triple Alliance and its enemies.*** In 1870, France and Germany had fought out their battle alone; neither side had an ally, although France might have had help from Austria, if Russia had not seemed ready (in that case) to spring to the aid of Prussia. Russia expected the gratitude of Germany for this, but gradually the two Powers drifted apart and at the **Congress of Berlin (1878)**, which was held to settle the Turkish question, Bismarck took a very unfriendly attitude toward the Czar. The result was a realignment of diplomatic and military alliances and interests, which has divided the leading Powers of Europe into two great camps.

In 1879, Bismarck made an alliance with Austria by which she and Germany pledged mutual help in case of an attack by Russia.<sup>3</sup>

Meantime, Russia was drawing closer to France (which had

<sup>1</sup> Called "King" in Hungary. The Hapsburg Emperor is officially called "His Imperial and Royal Majesty."

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in the "Austrian" half the Germans are at bitter odds with the Bohemians and to a less extent with the Poles; while in "Hungary" the predominant Magyar element is striving desperately to keep the mastery over the various hostile Slavic races.

<sup>3</sup> After 1866, Bismarck did his best to cultivate good relations with Austria, to help her to forget her old defeats, and to make the Hapsburgs firm friends to their neighbors, the Hohenzollerns. It seems unfortunate that he made no corresponding attempt to win back the friendship of France.



rehabilitated her army and was again formidable) and two "Dual Alliances" seemed coming into existence. But the relations between Italy and France were bad. It long seemed possible that the French Clerical party might secure control at home, and then try to restore the temporal power of the Pope. In 1881, also, France established a "protectorate" over Tunis in Africa (whereon Italy had cast longing eyes), and this drove the Italians to fury. Forthwith, Italy let herself be drawn into Bismarck's league, which now became the "**Triple Alliance**," to resist France or Russia.<sup>1</sup> This move naturally made these two last countries unite more firmly than ever, but they did not make a formal alliance until 1894.<sup>2</sup> However, for a long time previous to this it had been plain that Russia would not be indifferent to any new attempt to humiliate France, and *vice versa*. With a revived French army, and with the Italian army of somewhat uncertain value, these two alliances seemed about equal in military strength. Europe thus stood divided into two great armed camps, but each side feared the other. The two alliances really aided the perpetuation of peace.

England had long been content to trust to her fleet and to dispense with land allies. She had been proverbially distrustful of France, and more recently had feared Russia's designs on India; but as German commerce expanded and threatened the English trade monopoly, and as the new German navy<sup>3</sup> developed as a direct challenge, it seemed, to English naval leadership and hence to the integrity of the whole British Empire, Britons began to feel the need of powerful friends.<sup>4</sup> In 1903,

<sup>1</sup> The core of the agreement was that if any member of the alliance was at war with any country, *except* Russia, the other two members were to stand neutral: but if Russia mixed in the war, then all the other allies would join in the fighting. Germany felt well able to handle France alone.

<sup>2</sup> It was not actually proclaimed until 1897.

<sup>3</sup> See Section 310.

<sup>4</sup> A compelling factor was the friendship shown by the Germans for the Boers in their war with the English (1899-1902, see section 313). It seemed clear that the German people were anxious for the ruin of the British Empire.



King Edward VII began a deliberate policy of cultivating closer relations with France: a better understanding between England and Russia naturally followed. The "**Entente Cordiale**" (an informal but genuine alliance of England, France, and Russia) was the result. This new "Triple Alliance" can dispose of more men and ships than the old "Triple Alliance," but in any case war has become too serious a venture to be lightly risked. The alliances have once more produced peace, not conflict, although they have done nothing to lessen the burdens of the great national armies and fleets.

**313. The twentieth century in Great Britain.** Queen Victoria died in 1901, and her long and prosperous reign ended with Great Britain involved in a war which for a while promised disaster. In 1899, her "Conservative" Ministers<sup>1</sup> undertook to destroy the two small Boer (African-Dutch) Republics of South Africa — the "Transvaal" and the "Orange Free State." The British could rightfully charge the Boers with corruption and selfishness in their government and the oppression of resident foreigners, who outnumbered the Dutch two to one, yet were denied all political rights: but there were ugly charges that land-hunger and the desire to control valuable gold-mines was behind many of the British claims. The Boers made a heroic and obstinate fight. Their hardy riflemen repeatedly defeated the English; they proved themselves past-masters in the art of guerrilla warfare in half-settled and difficult country. The war proved terribly costly to England; and the Boers were only conquered by being overwhelmed by

The French, indeed, showed sympathy with the Boers, but not to such an offensive extent. The Boer War taught the English that they were intensely disliked upon the Continent, and needed to cultivate friends.

<sup>1</sup> The Prime Minister was Mr. Balfour, but the leading spirit in managing the South-African policy was Mr. Chamberlain, a brilliant but unstable and not over-scrupulous politician. The war could well have been avoided or at least postponed by a more conciliatory attitude by Great Britain. The Ministry seems to have entirely underestimated the fighting powers of the Boers, and to have imagined that a brief campaign would end everything.



the numbers which their foes poured into Africa. In 1902, the Boers at last capitulated on honorable terms, but the struggle had seemed to demonstrate the inefficient management of the British army. The British navy, however, was absolutely intact; and while that dominated the seas the "Empire" was safe, and could afford to scorn the gibes of the Boer sympathizers in Europe at the ineffectiveness of the army.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the war the Conservative Ministry fell apart over the question of a revival of the protective tariff, a large part of the party demanding the abolition of the long-standing free-trade policy. The Liberals (1906) regained control of the House of Commons and of the Ministry. Their reform measures (especially their schemes of taxation which would lay special burdens on the landed aristocracy) were resisted and thwarted by the Conservative majority in **the House of Lords**. In 1909 and yet again in 1910 the voters sustained the Liberals in general elections. The upshot of the struggle was that a law was at length carried, in the teeth of fierce opposition, declaring that when a House of Commons had passed a bill in three successive sessions, it should become a law even if the Lords had refused to approve of it. Such a measure is, of course, a fundamental change in the whole "unwritten constitution" of England, and has served greatly to weaken the still formidable power of the British aristocracy in its last stronghold — the House of Lords.

Following this enactment the Liberal Government, led by Mr. Asquith, its Prime Minister, and the fiercely hated and as fiercely loved Finance Minister, Mr. Lloyd-George, has brought in measures for granting home rule to Ireland, for disestablishing the Welsh Church,<sup>2</sup> and for various forms of

<sup>1</sup> It is only fair to say that the lessons of the Boer War have been laid to heart, and that to-day the British army is a considerably better fighting machine than it was.

<sup>2</sup> The perpetuation of the Welsh (Episcopal) Church as a government institution seems to most Americans an absurdity. Only a decided minority of the



uplift for the laboring classes which, if made into statutes, will be landmarks in the history of British legislation.

As the twentieth century advances it is evident that England, though no longer unique among great nations in possessing effective free institutions, and although under sore commercial competition from Germany and America, is still among the very first of the world's Powers. Her colonial empire has never seemed stronger. Her navy is still much greater than that of Germany. Her commerce covers the seas. At home her really grave problem is with her huge **impoverished industrial class**. England has long been a safe and delightful country for people of good birth and property; but until lately "vested interests" (i.e., property, gentility, and the things accompanying) have been more carefully safeguarded than the good health, education, and fair opportunities in life of the unpropertied millions.<sup>1</sup> After centuries of internal peace and of economic prosperity, England has still an abnormal number of actual paupers and a still greater number of persons desperately poor. It is this pressing problem of poverty and the failure of the capitalistic classes to grapple successfully with the solution, and to substitute thorough remedies for mere charity, which is making so many of the thinking men of England "socialists" of one type or another. But when all is said, Great Britain is, of course, one of the greatest of all great countries, the evils just mentioned are keenly realized, and her leaders are

population of Wales adhere to it, but it is stoutly defended by English "Churchmen" as being a bulwark against "Disestablishment" in England also.

<sup>1</sup> One factor which many reforms have had to fight against in English habits of thought and politics has been the tendency of the English law to lay great stress upon the *rights of property*. "Vested interests" — whether right or wrong — have something sacred in the eyes of many Englishmen if only these interests are old enough. This fact was admirable so long as there was need of checking a rapacious and tyrannical king. It is less admirable now when it is a disheartening check upon a reforming statesman. It has actually been proposed in England to indemnify liberally the owners of "public houses" (saloons) who may be put out of business by the Government in an attempt to lessen (not prohibit) the admittedly overgrown liquor traffic.



striving earnestly to find a just and abiding issue for her social problems.

**314. *The evolution of Russia.*** Russia has become a military power which has sometimes seemed a match for all the rest of Europe.<sup>1</sup> She has produced musicians, artists, and novelists who rank among the world's masters. In Siberia she has developed an enormous Asiatic empire, carrying among the rude tribesmen railroads, telegraphs, and all the outward veneer of "modern civilization." Politically and socially, however, Russia as a nation is **still several generations behind her European neighbors.** In her cities there are large classes of highly educated, intelligent, progressive people, eagerly striving for "reform"; but the great bulk of the Russians is comprised of the hundred millions and more of ignorant, superstitious peasants: petty agriculturists whose human outlook and vices resemble those of the French serfs in the Middle Ages, and with whom political progress is still highly difficult. The result is that Russia makes very slow growth toward freedom and enlightenment. The process will not be completed until the bulk of her people can throw off the shackles of ignorance as a necessary preliminary to ending the "autocracy" of the absolute czars.<sup>2</sup>

In 1861 an intelligent and relatively liberal czar, Alexander II, took the great step of decreeing the emancipation of the Russian serfs, but the landholding nobility and the great corps

<sup>1</sup> Russia lost the war with Japan (1904-05), but it should be remembered that she had to maintain her armies in Manchuria six thousand miles from their home base with only a single railroad line to rely upon and no effective communication by sea. Most military critics, indeed, believe that man for man the Czar's brave but not always intelligent troops are not on the average, equal, for example, to the Germans; but the huge *numbers* of the Russians seem to make them almost irresistible.

<sup>2</sup> In 1825 an attempt was made by a few Liberals to proclaim a free constitution with a certain popular Prince Constantine as czar. The soldiers of two regiments gladly cried out, "Long live Constantine and the Constitution." The soldiers believed "Constitution" was Prince Constantine's wife! Of course, considerable progress has been made since then in educating the Russian masses.



of government officials, who feared for their tenure of office, bitterly opposed further reforms, and the czar's program broke down. The "freeing of the serfs" was executed in a blundering way, so as actually to increase their miseries for the moment, and then followed plots and conspiracies on the part of an increasing body of Liberals, and arrests, banishments, and police persecution in retaliation by the Government, until in 1879 an "advanced" revolutionary party, the Terrorists, removed the czar by assassination.

It was a foolish as well as a wicked act. Alexander II had been slowly feeling his way toward a more liberal policy.<sup>1</sup> His son, Alexander III, reverted to the deeds of absolutism: the muzzling of the press, the exiling to Siberia of leading Liberals, the suppression of anything savoring of political agitation. In 1894, this ruler was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, a well-intentioned man, who perhaps had some faint liking for more liberal institutions; but he has proved himself utterly weak, the pliable tool of ministers and officials who have every interest in maintaining the old system. **In 1904, Russia found herself involved in a disastrous war with Japan,** and the Government became so discredited that in the face of the riotous outbreaks of the Liberals in the great cities,<sup>2</sup> the czar proclaimed a constitution (1905) with an elective parliament (**Duma**) and most of the outward paraphernalia of a free state. As soon as the foreign peril was fairly ended, and the danger of insurrection past, this parliament was, indeed, dissolved, and many of the liberal innovations canceled, but the new reforms were not formally abrogated. Russia has still a parliament, although the election of members is confined to a very limited class of people and the business transacted is closely controlled by the czar's ministers.

<sup>1</sup> He was about to sign an order creating a kind of parliament when he was assassinated.

<sup>2</sup> The advanced radicals worked on the czar and his advisers by "removing" (destroying with bombs) several obnoxious kinsmen of the emperor, and various reactionary Ministers.



Russia has a long, painful road to travel before she possesses an enlightened government; but the first steps have been taken and the gradual education of the masses will bring the rest.

**315. *The crumbling of Turkey.*** Since the age of Napoleon the diplomats of Europe have been closely watching the "Nearer East," the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire, in its process of slow but certain decay. The Turkish rulers were, at their best, only a race of soldiers. When they ceased to conquer, their domination lost all justification. For the last two hundred years "Turkish rule" has usually meant inefficiency, injustice in the courts, outrageous taxes, and ignorant and corrupt officials. Of course, to this has been added the circumstance that Moslem rulers were often oppressing a Christian subject population.<sup>1</sup> At almost any time since 1815 Turkey could have been annihilated by one of the great Christian Powers had the other Christian Powers been willing to see their neighbor master a great territory which the rest have coveted.

England has dreaded lest Russia seize Constantinople, and so control one of the keys to the road to India. Russia has dreaded lest Austria seize the Balkan peninsula, and so cut her off from that access to the Mediterranean which the Czar's statesmen always crave. France, Italy, and Germany have their fears and interests in the nearer Orient also. As a result the Turkish Empire has been left to misrule and misery: while (especially in the Balkan peninsula) the various Christian

<sup>1</sup> Naturally the only government known until lately in Turkey has been an unmitigated despotism; but the Turks have not even made that despotism efficient. There have been capable sultans, but they have been grievously hindered in their schemes by the worthless officials through whom they were obliged to work. One of the great difficulties of good government in Turkey has been the fact that the unfriendly races, Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Turks, Kurds, Arabs, etc., have all lived mixed in together, in the same city, or in adjacent villages, and it has been impossible to adjust laws and institutions to the needs of different races in easily separated districts. The Turks have been no rulers to find an outlet to this problem.



peoples—subject to Turkish tyranny—have time and again turned on their oppressor in bloody uprisings.

The revolt of Greece<sup>1</sup> was the first move in the ejecting of the Turks from Europe. In 1853, Czar Nicholas I of Russia, believing that “the Sick Man of Europe” (as he styled the



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sultan) was close to political death, and that the other Powers would not interfere, declared war on Turkey and put his armies in motion. The czar, however, was mistaken in his hopes. France and England saw their interests in the East menaced, and came to the aid of the Turks. The **Crimean War**<sup>2</sup> which followed (1854-56)

was neither very desperate nor decisive, but the allies proved too powerful for the Russians, and they were compelled to make the Peace of Paris (1856), which practically left the Turks as they were—of course, with solemn promises by them of “reforms.”

In 1876, the Christian principality of **Servia** (a vassal state of Turkey in the Balkans) declared war on the sultan, alleging sympathy for the cruelties practiced by the Turks upon the Christians in the neighboring provinces. The Servians were no match for the Turks and were quickly defeated; but in 1877 Russia came to their aid, alleging that all hopes of

<sup>1</sup> See section 266.

<sup>2</sup> The war took its name from the *Crimcan peninsula* (South Russia) where nearly all the fighting occurred. The main struggle was around the Russian fortress of Sevastopol, which the French and English captured after a long and bloody siege. All the nations involved showed much bravery in this struggle, but relatively little first-class generalship.



reformation in Turkish methods were futile. The **Turko-Russian War** (1877-78) brought the Turks down upon their knees. They made a brave defense of the town of Plevna; when that fell, however, the Russian troops marched to the very suburbs of Constantinople. Russia dictated "the Treaty of San Stefano,"<sup>1</sup> which (if it had been executed) would have left the Turks only a few fragments of land in Europe; but the jealousy of England was now aroused. Lord Beaconsfield (the queen's prime minister) threatened war in case the treaty was not revised, and the whole matter was reopened at the great diplomatic **Congress of Berlin** (1878), where the representatives of all the great European Powers met under the presidency of Prince Bismarck.

At Berlin, Russia was obliged to allow Turkey to take back a considerable part of the territory she had signed away, but the loss to the sultan's dominions was none the less terrible. The hitherto vassal principalities of Servia, Roumania, and the tiny country of Montenegro became independent kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> Greece was promised an enlargement of territory, and a great block of land between Servia and the Black Sea was set off into a new principality (nominally subject to the sultan, but virtually independent) — Bulgaria — inhabited by a fine, virile Christian race that had suffered for centuries from the worst kind of Turkish oppression.<sup>3</sup>

The Treaty of Berlin left the Turks only a rather small strip of territory in Europe, and released millions of Christians from their bondage. Bulgaria rapidly developed into a well-organized and enlightened state. In 1908, her "Prince" Ferdinand felt his position secure enough to throw off all allegiance to

<sup>1</sup> A small village near Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, under the overshadowing influence of the czar, who would never fail to remind them of the gratitude they owed him for rescuing them from the Turks.

<sup>3</sup> By the arrangement of San Stefano, Bulgaria would have been much larger than was permitted at Berlin. Especially she was then denied access to the *Ægean Sea*. Herein lay seeds of future trouble.



Turkey, and he proclaimed himself an independent "King." Roumania, Greece, and to a less extent Servia made honorable progress in peaceful development. The different Balkan States hated one another, however, hardly less than they hated the Turks.<sup>1</sup> In 1885, Bulgaria and Servia had joined in a brief war wherein Bulgaria had been victor.

Meantime, at Constantinople the Turks had made ill use of their respite. **The Sultan Abdul-Hamid II (1876-1909)**, "Abdul the Damned," as he was significantly described, was a reactionary despot of the worst Oriental type. By a kind of demoniacal cunning he played off the jealousy of the Great Powers one against another and so prevented interference in his misrule, while he surrounded himself with grasping sycophants and subservient guardsmen; ordered massacres of the Christian Armenians (a race that had given signs of disaffection); and put to death or drove into exile most of his fellow Turks who showed themselves open to Western enlightenment.<sup>2</sup>

But even into Turkey new ideas were bound to penetrate in the twentieth century. A native party that took the name of Liberalism, the "**Young Turks**," won over the loyalty of the army, and forced the sultan to proclaim a constitution (1908).<sup>3</sup> The novel experiment of a liberal government for an Oriental monarchy had hardly been tested before the sultan foolishly tried to expel the reformers and restore absolutism. But the army deserted him. He was seized in his palace and deposed (1909) and his brother, Mohammed V (a puppet for the

<sup>1</sup> The jealousy arose very largely from the ambition of each state to seize the adjacent portions of Turkey (at the next inevitable parceling out of the Ottoman Empire) and from a corresponding fear that its Christian neighbor would grow at its expense.

<sup>2</sup> As an example of the tyrannical stupidity of Abdul-Hamid's rule may be mentioned the fact that in his day Constantinople had no electric lights, because electricity required a *dynamo* and the sultan feared that this was the same as *dynamite*, whereof he lived in perpetual dread!

<sup>3</sup> Nominally this constitution had been proclaimed in 1876, but it had never really been put in force. It is now the formal law of the Ottoman Empire, which, at least on paper, has a more liberal government than that of Russia.





EUROPE BEFORE THE BALKAN WAR



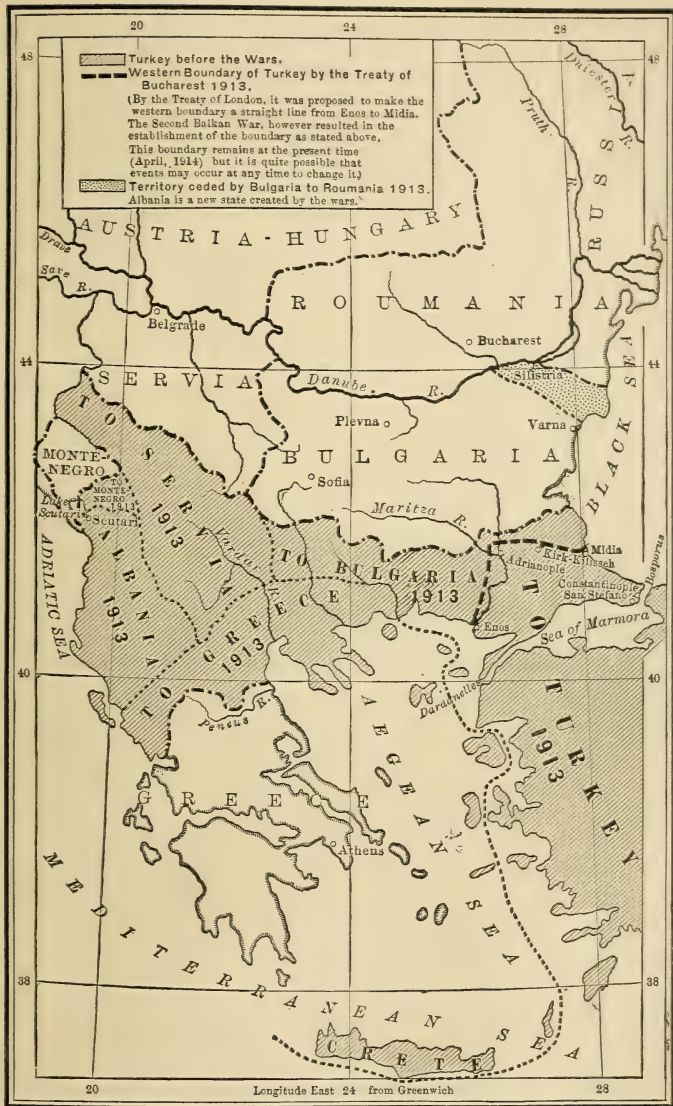
“Young Turk” leaders), was placed in his stead. The new régime speedily had to resort to very drastic methods to get itself obeyed in the provinces, but it was ruling with fair success when Turkey again became involved in foreign war.

**316. *The Balkan War (1912-13).*** The year 1911 saw the beginning of a new partitioning of Turkey when Italy, alleging various pretexts, seized Tripoli — the last Ottoman province in Africa.<sup>1</sup> The Turks had no navy wherewith to throw reinforcements into Tripoli, and with Italy controlling the seas, the war lasted only until the Italians could overcome the stubborn but isolated provincial garrison. In 1912, the Turks made peace, surrendering the disputed land to their enemy; but this loss was a mere incident to the humiliation about to follow.

In 1912, to the amazement of many of the diplomats, the Balkan kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece put aside their hitherto bitter feuds and united in a sudden attack on the Turks. The latter seemed to have greater armies than all the allies combined, but numbers went for nothing before the new organization and the mingled valor and religious hate of the Christians. Their enemies had been demoralized by internal revolutions, and seem to have been pitifully ill-led. At **Kirk-Kilisseh** the Bulgarians routed the Turks in a great battle and marched to the suburbs of Constantinople, while the other allies seized most of the rest of European Turkey. Long negotiations followed, which ended by the Turks ceding nearly all their territories in Europe, save a narrow district near Constantinople. Then came a deplorable turn to a war hitherto conducted in the name of “Christian civilization” against “Moslem barbarism.” The victors quarreled over the conquered territory. Bulgaria demanded what seemed an unrea-

<sup>1</sup> The Italians had long regarded the seizure of Algeria and Tunis by the French with great jealousy, and were anxious for a similar colonial empire in Africa. Tripoli is not a very rich and promising district, however, and although the Turks have been expelled, the Italians have found it a difficult task to beat down the resistance of the Moorish desert tribes.





THE BALKAN WARS



sonable share, and became involved in war with Servia and the Greeks (1913). But Roumania (hitherto neutral) now attacked Bulgaria in turn. This inexcusable "Second War" was short but horribly bloody, and awakened the worst possible passions among all the "grim raw races" of the Balkans. Bulgaria was entirely defeated and stripped of part of her earlier conquests. Servia, Greece, and Roumania were, of course, heavily the gainers; but it will be decades before the angry passions awakened in the Balkans cool and the various kingdoms come together on terms of real brotherhood.<sup>1</sup>

**317. The Hague Peace Tribunal.** The last forty years have given painful evidence that the world is still far from an era of universal peace, yet there is great encouragement for feeling that if wars are not yet abolished, they are being constantly avoided, and that such wars as do break out are being carefully isolated, the nations only indirectly affected putting forth every effort to preserve neutrality and pacify the combatants. The great developments of commerce, with its demands for law, order, and protection, have done much to aid this; much, also, the increasing *expense* of a great modern war, almost as ruinous to the victor as to the vanquished;<sup>2</sup> but the greatest factor of all has been a growing belief among all civilized men that war is a relic of barbarism to be shunned by every honorable means, and to be employed only as the last bitter resort.

Already in the nineteenth century the application of **international arbitration** had settled many serious quarrels that in earlier times might have been adjusted by the sword. Finally,

<sup>1</sup> One result of the Balkan War has been the creation of the new "Principality of Albania," a Mohammedan district on the western side of the peninsula.—During the "Second War" the Turks intervened and regained the city of Adrianople, which had been seized by Bulgaria in the "First War."

<sup>2</sup> Under mediæval conditions any leader, with a few thousand men and half a dozen castles, could conduct a considerable "war," and pay his soldiers with promises of plunder. To-day, plundering an enemy's country is forbidden by international usage, armies are enormous and well paid, and the munitions of war ruinously expensive even to a Great Power. Even a relatively "small war" will cost each combatant fully \$1,000,000 per day.



in 1899, at the invitation of the Czar of Russia, the famous "**First Peace Conference**" of the delegates of the nations met at The Hague to consider projects for promoting peace. It set up a permanent voluntary commission for arbitration, and the nations were invited to send their disputes thither. In 1907, at the instigation of the United States, the "Second Peace Conference" met in the old Dutch city, and the scope and methods of arbitration were systematized and widened. But while **The Hague Tribunal** has been useful in clearing up many minor bickerings that might have led to much hard feeling, it has never yet adjusted a really formidable grievance which would otherwise have been the basis for a great war, and there exists no means of compelling two angry nations to submit their disputes for peaceful adjustment. While France remembers Alsace and Lorraine; while England distrusts Germany; while the huge bulk of Russia casts its shadow across the suspicious lesser peoples and causes grave anxiety in its neighbor Germany; while the Turkish Empire lingers in its death and the expectant nations quarrel over the divisions of its lands, — so long will even prudent statesmen urge "greater armies" and "more battleships," and so long will it seem nigh impossible to arbitrate questions which affect not small boundary problems, nor money indemnities, but the fundamental ambitions or hatred of great peoples.

But the Hague Tribunal means a step in a truly hopeful direction. In the Middle Ages "private warfare" seemed impossible to abolish. In the twentieth century steady conditions of public peace have become the fact for nearly all civilized men. And despite many calamitous wars, **there has not been any general European war** (with all the havoc which such a struggle implies) since the fall of Napoleon. It is not unreasonable to hope that the twentieth century will see the last formal war ever to be recorded between two civilized states.



## REVIEW

1. *Topics* — Commune of Paris; Thiers; General Boulanger; De Lesseps; Dreyfus; the Separation Law; the "Lost Provinces"; Gambetta; the "Iron Chancellor"; Militarism; Congress of Berlin; the Triple Alliance; the "Entente Cordiale"; Asquith; "Vested Interests"; Alexander II; Duma; Nihilists; "Sick Man of Europe"; Crimean War; Abdul-Hamid II; "Young Turks"; Balkan War; The Hague Tribunal.
2. *Geography* —
  - (a) Locate Berlin; Sevastopol; Paris; Plevna; San Stefano; Kirk-Kilisseh; The Hague.
  - (b) Mark Alsace-Lorraine; Tripoli; Tunis; Transvaal; Orange Free State; the Russian Empire; Manchuria; Japan; The Crimea; Algeria.
  - (c) Mark the steps in the decline of the Ottoman Empire in Europe from the sixteenth century to 1913.
  - (d) Mark the chief colonial possessions of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy.
  - (e) Mark the boundaries of the Balkan States before and after the Balkan Wars of 1913.
  - (f) Indicate the extent of the Mohammedan power in Europe at its height, and compare with its extent in 1913.
3. How do you account for the continuance of the Republic in France, if Napoleon was right when he said, "You Frenchmen love monarchy"?
4. How is it possible for the Government in Germany to control legislation, if it is in a minority?
5. Why were France and England "natural enemies" formerly, and why are they no longer so?
6. What are the peculiar internal problems confronting each nation in Europe at present? What are the external problems?
7. In what nations have important constitutional changes occurred during the period covered by this chapter? Describe the changes.
8. Is the Triple Alliance based upon the general good will of the parties, or upon necessity? Explain your answer. Compare with the "Entente Cordiale."
9. How do you explain the fact that Russia is far behind western Europe in civilization?
10. Why have the Turks been allowed to remain in Europe? Are they likely to remain permanently? Give reasons for your answer.
11. What events in the period show the importance of "sea-power"; i.e., the control of the sea?
12. What modern conditions in Europe tend to maintain peace, and what ones tend to produce war, between the nations?



## EXERCISES

1. The French Constitution of 1875.
2. The conflicts between the Papacy and the French and German Governments.
3. The Eastern Question in the nineteenth century.
4. The formation of the new states in the Balkan Peninsula.
5. European colonies and "spheres of influence" in Africa.
6. The influence of European civilization upon the Asiatic nations.
7. Does the fact that several of the European nations have numerous Mohammedan colonies, influence the attitude taken by those nations toward Turkey?
8. The Peace Conferences at The Hague.

## READINGS

*Modern Accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 262-65, 296-334, 355-76. Lewis: pp. 753-73. Duruy: pp. 661-84. Lodge: chapter XXVIII. Robinson and Beard: vol. II, *passim*; especially pp. 130-80; 220-23; 251-57; and 261-378.



## CHAPTER XLI

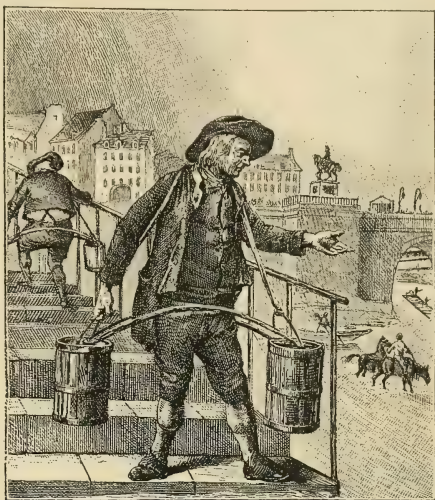
### THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY

WE have perforce treated the nineteenth century in Europe as if it were a series of national stories, only blended usually when the nations in question collided in diplomacy and arms. But this is only very partially the case. Since 1815 there has been a surprising number of common factors in European public life which have affected almost all the great states to a marked extent. National boundaries have partly crumbled. A new idea in France is sure to have its prompt reaction in Italy, in Germany, in England. The world of commerce (despite hampering customs-duties and tariffs) has become more and more international. Not one but a large number of new forces have been at work, and every one making for more intelligence, greater private happiness, and above all for the abolition of political privilege and absolutism. This is true of every nation, even of half-mediæval Russia. To discuss these common factors fully would take many volumes. We can only state them in a few words as the climax to this long historical narrative.

**318. *The recovery of Democracy after the French Revolution.*** The excesses of the French Revolution, followed as they were by the destructive work of Napoleon, "the child of the Revolution," reacted upon the whole democratic theory. For long after 1815 many intelligent, well-meaning men, especially of the property-owning class, regarded "legitimacy" (i.e., monarchy) as the only safeguard against anarchy, and even moderate reforms were denounced as "Jacobinism." Very gradually the pendulum swung back. It was realized that, though the French radicals had been too hasty in making the



transition from mediævalism to liberty, the theories whereon their radicalism rested — the “Rights of Man” and “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,” were matters of profound truth. Only, of course, the millennium of freedom must come, not amid one wild holocaust of “effete institutions,” but through a process of slow, often painful, evolution. By 1900, the theories so crudely advanced in 1789 were daily being put into successful practice, and were constantly winning new converts in every civilized land.



WATER-CARRIER, ABOUT 1830  
(After a lithograph by Bellangé)

**319. *The example of the United States.*** When the twentieth century dawned, the statesmen of Europe had had before their eyes for more than three generations the example of a really great and successful free government — the United States of America. Much of the success of America was, indeed, due to its isolation from Old World problems, such as the need of standing armies, the difficulty of abolishing long-standing abuses, and the like. Part, too, of our success came from the possession of a great undeveloped continent, full of natural resources, and demanding exploitation. But in any case the success of America had a tremendous reaction upon Europe. Here was a standing refutation of the old allegation that free governments — except on a very limited scale<sup>1</sup> — had never

<sup>1</sup> Of course it was sometimes admitted that such a small city-republic as



been a success. The saving of the American Union in our Civil War was a capital event for Europe: it proved that the greatest experiment ever made in practical democracy was not likely to fail. American prosperity has strengthened the hands of every liberal reformer from Spain to Russia.

**320. *The industrial revolution.*** In 1789, most Europeans were supported by agriculture. By 1900, although Russia, Hungary and to a less extent France and Germany had large farming interests, commerce and manufacturing had become

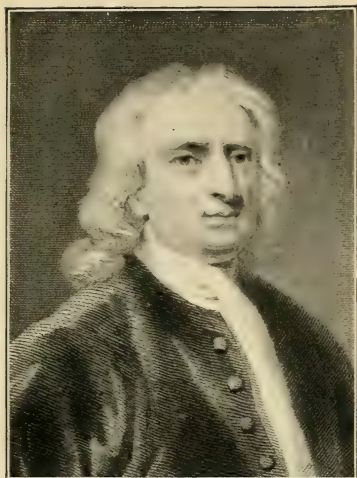


FARM INTERIOR IN 1878 (FRANCE)

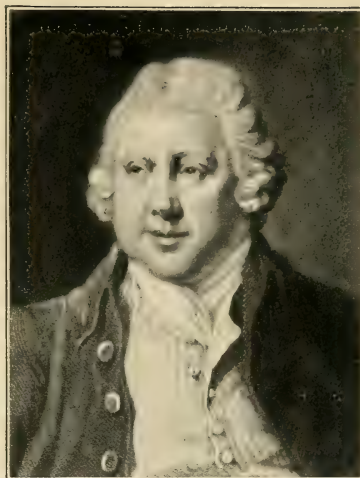
more and more the bases for the wealth of the whole Continent. Not merely England, but many other countries — especially Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland — profit enormously by the new markets which modern railways and steamships have opened in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. On the Continent, as somewhat earlier in England, the “Industrial Revolu-

Athens had been a fair success. As for the Roman Republic, history taught that as soon as the Romans won a great dominion they had to change their government into “the Empire” — a monarchy. The corruption — real or alleged — of American politics has often destroyed the value of American examples in Europe, but even with all deductions the fact has remained that the United States is a powerful, prosperous, and *free* country, competing with Europe in all the activities of civilization.

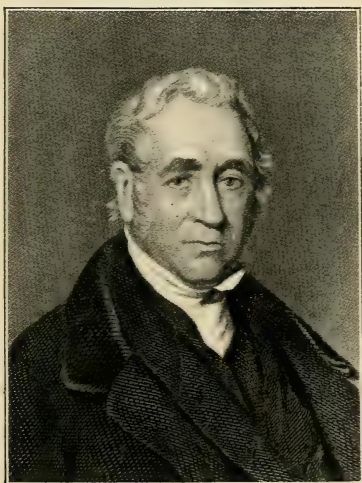




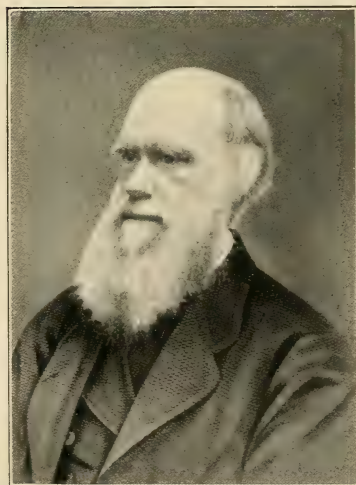
ISAAC NEWTON  
Mathematician  
Born 1642 Died 1727



RICHARD ARKWRIGHT  
Inventor  
Born 1732 Died 1792



GEORGE STEPHENSON  
Engineer  
Born 1781 Died 1848



CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN  
Naturalist  
Born 1809 Died 1882

## PIONEERS OF SCIENCE







tion" has reacted upon political life, and always to advance the cause of democracy. The premium set upon personal wealth, capital, and efficiency, instead of on noble birth and ancestral acres, has shaken the prestige of, even if it has not destroyed, the old aristocracies that rest on mediæval traditions. The lower classes have been brought together even more constantly in cities:<sup>1</sup> and in great cities the toilers can combine for mutual betterment or for agitation infinitely more easily than as so many scattered farmers. And finally — a matter often overlooked but not to be despised — the shifting of men's interest to manufacturing and commerce, with their keen competitions, has put a premium on *invention*: — some new scientific devices which will distance a commercial rival and lead to honorable gain. This spirit of invention, which is the very life of progressive modern manufacturing, is bound also to have a marked political effect.<sup>2</sup> Men are generally more

<sup>1</sup> This is particularly true of Germany, where certain cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Leipzig, have grown by leaps and bounds, as rapidly as many "western" cities in America.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, the influence of the new manufacturing machinery has been, from the standpoint of general civilization, simply enormous. It has been estimated that the new machinery has added the equivalent of many millions to the "non-human working population" of the civilized world. The new means of communication and the far-reaching influences of modern commerce make these new methods of manufacturing spread their influence to every corner of the globe. "A nickel spent for thread in Uganda, Central Africa, sets the spindle going in Manchester, England." We are too near to this great revolution to decide on its final results: we can be sure that it will be put down in future histories as a tremendously important event.

The early use of machinery by the English was a large factor in making them, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the manufacturing leaders of the world. The great wars between 1789 and 1815 had demoralized much of the industrial life of the Continent, and almost prohibited the introduction of the new machinery (engines, power-looms, etc.). But after 1815, France began to develop herself as a great industrial nation. In 1812, she had only *one* small stationary engine; in 1847, she had nearly five thousand. Nor were the French content to copy English methods merely; their natural genius for invention suggested one improvement after another, until to-day there is hardly a manufacture in the world which does not owe much to some innovating Frenchman. This development of French industry brought with it a corresponding increase in the French cities, and Paris in particular had a marked growth in the nineteenth century.



willing now to accept what is new if it really seems superior, whether in the realm of industry or of statecraft; and the same prevailing instinct which will inspire one person to invent a new machine for making shoes will inspire another to devise some new scheme for securing more equable representation for minorities in a legislature.

**321. *The new means of communication.*** We have seen how in the Middle Ages the introduction or exchange of **new ideas** was almost an impossibility, owing to the great physical difficulties of traveling. Even as late as 1789, in France, England, and Germany to go fifty miles per day by stage-coach on land, or a hundred miles by sailing-packet on water, was not steadily to be reckoned upon. Six months was a common voyage to India.<sup>1</sup> About 1830, **steamboats** began to ply the North Sea and the Mediterranean in appreciable numbers, and at about the same time commenced the building of **railroads**. These great inventions have done almost as much for Europe as for America; they have brought London within seven hours of

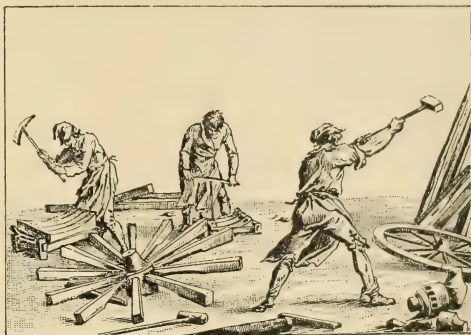
In Germany the new industrial progress hardly came until after 1840. In 1842, a German professor could assert that the country had little to fear from socialistic movements, for there was no distinct "worker" class in the land — apart from the country peasants. But conditions speedily changed. Better political adjustments and greater enlightenment led to the increased use of machinery, and in certain specialties — especially in every manufacture where the new scientific processes could be applied — the Germans showed remarkable aptitude. The result was a development of industries on a scale larger than those of France, and rivaling the English. After 1870, there was a perfect mania in Germany for forming stock companies, followed, naturally, by a collapse of the "boom," and a temporary set-back, but marking a genuine advance of the Germans as an industrial nation. Of recent years German manufacturers have been thrusting more and more into the markets of the world, and thereby earning the wrath of the English, who had formerly almost a monopoly of most manufactured articles of commerce. The twentieth century will decide whether Germany can distance England as the first commercial and industrial nation of Europe, or whether both countries must succumb to the slowly awakening economic power of the huge empire of Russia.

<sup>1</sup> Even to cross the British Channel with the old packets might involve a delay of several days, if the winds were contrary and tied up the shipping. For practical purposes, Spain was more remote from England in 1789 than South America is to-day.



Paris, and Paris within twenty-two hours of Vienna. The old isolation — so conducive to local prejudice as well as to sheer ignorance — is broken down, and human brotherhood and civilization are incalculably the gainers.

**322. The new consciousness of nationality.** But while the old isolation of ignorance is ending, the sense of patriotism based on loyalty to a local fatherland is still strong. The barriers of language, race, and religion are still mighty, as any



WHEELWRIGHTS IN THE DAYS OF THE STAGE-COACH

(After a contemporary etching by Duplessis-Bertaux)

American traveler can testify who has, for instance, passed suddenly from Germany to France. In the nineteenth century the struggles of various peoples to secure firm, united, **national** governments (notably in Germany and Italy) seemed to kindle patriotism to a white heat. But this patriotism has not been of the petty, ignoble kind; in the hot fires of a common sacrifice much that is best in human nature has been evoked. Rich and poor, nobleman and peasant, have seen their caste barriers vanish in a united effort against an oppressor or an invader. The ruling classes have everywhere been forced to conciliate the masses in order to win their effective loyalty. The winning of national unity for Italy and Germany by its very conditions implied the growth of political liberty as well.

**323. The spread of education.** In 1789 the bulk of the peasantry in almost all European countries was pitifully illiterate and ignorant. The governing classes could justly say that such oafish, unschooled creatures could not pretend to participate



in politics; they ought only to "take thankfully what God and the King sent to them." But the growth of humane sentiments and the rising power of the lower classes forced a complete change. Every European country has developed a fairly complete educational system.<sup>1</sup> In theory every peasant now has a chance at an elementary education, and the percentage of illiterates even in Russia is constantly dwindling. The aristocrats have been forced to this in actual self-defense. "Now we must educate our new masters!" bitterly exclaimed a prominent English statesman, when the British Reform Act of 1867 gave the franchise to the poorer classes. By 1914 most Europeans were relatively trained and intelligent lords of their own destinies, not loutish and hopelessly ignorant peasants.

**324. *The Free Press.*** Along with the free schools has gone the development of the greatest single agent for spreading liberal doctrines — the modern newspaper. Something like newspapers have existed in England since the reign of Charles I, but stern police censorship checked all real journalistic enterprise on the Continent till the Revolutionary epoch.<sup>2</sup> Since then absolutism and reaction have found the free press their most inveterate enemy. Despite censorships, suppressions, confiscations, and like measures the newspapers have developed in every European country until to-day they speak with freedom almost everywhere save in Russia.<sup>3</sup> The cylinder printing-press (which came into use after 1810) and the electric

<sup>1</sup> Of course, Germany and France have admirable educational systems; the English primary education has not developed quite as far as that of the most advanced Continental nations, thanks largely to controversies as to how far the State Church shall be allowed to have control of teaching the pupils.

<sup>2</sup> The year 1789 saw a veritable crop of newspapers and party organs develop in Paris, and Paris has been a center for influential journalism ever since.

<sup>3</sup> The law for libel is still extremely severe in Germany and some other countries and hinders legitimate criticism of the Crown and its Ministers, and sometimes of ordinary political matters. It must be said that the Continental press is often exceedingly personal and scurrilous in a way which is not imitated by even the worst types of American journalism.



telegraph have, of course, been indispensable adjuncts to the development of this power which every absolutist has come to dread, and with which every prime minister must daily reckon.

**325. *The new military system.*** Since the age of Napoleon, the military system of Europe has been remade and (quite contrary to the desires of the ruling military class) the change has furthered democracy. Up to 1789, the average European army was relatively small, and composed of professional soldiers who spent their whole lives "with the colors." Since 1815 all Europe has tended to rest more and more on huge conscript armies in which **all male citizens are obliged to serve two or three years.**<sup>1</sup> These conscripts may be brave and efficient soldiers, but they are none the less citizens in their sentiments and prejudices, and they expect to return to civilian life. The Governments dare not wantonly engage in wars which public opinion does not fairly sustain — the army might not support them. Again, to secure the consent of the masses to such a burdensome military system, it is necessary to conciliate those masses by many liberal reforms. The military burden on Europe may, then, be a very serious evil, but it is not an unmixed evil: democracy has been genuinely advanced by these huge citizen armies.

**326. *The enormous expenses of modern governments.*** Democracy again has been advanced by the fact that all modern governments cost probably five to ten times as much (all factors considered) as they did one hundred years ago. Formerly the army and an expensive court ate up about all an average ruler's revenues: now — while the military establishment has greatly increased — vast sums are drained away for

<sup>1</sup> The huge size of the present-day armies has had also this important political result: it is now less easy to organize an insurrection than formerly. The average government has so many thousands of men at its disposal that the physical task of arranging a successful revolt is nigh insuperable. On the other hand, the modern inventions of dynamite bombs and the like have made it easier for revolutionists to carry on a petty "private war" by the assassination of rulers.



education and for every possible kind of internal improvement. The increased taxes are usually cheerfully borne, for they are more scientifically adjusted than under the old régime, and the old privileges of tax exemption for many classes are abolished; nevertheless, it is impossible to collect these taxes except under two conditions: the taxpayers must feel that the money is being spent for their benefit and not to aggrandize a selfish monarch; secondly, practically every country now recognizes that the taxpayers must have a share (through a parliament) in voting the taxes, and deciding upon their expenditure. Arbitrary taxation or expenditure will soon be unknown in any so-called civilized land.

**327. Socialism.** During the nineteenth century the great struggle in European political life has seemed to be for **political equality** for all men. That struggle has now been substantially won. Signs are not lacking that the next struggle will be for **economic equality**. Long before 1900, **socialism** had become a great factor in most European states. Its doctrines were clearly in evidence even before the troubles in Paris in 1848 and 1871, and it can, perhaps, claim a French origin; but the great apostle of modern socialism was a German — **Karl Marx** (1818–83). The Socialists are now an active and formidable party in every European state. They assert that the reforms won hitherto are a mere drop in the bucket compared with those which should follow. Mediæval privilege has crumbled; but, they assert, the real gainers have not been the toiling masses, but the propertied classes, — the capitalists, — whose wage system, and private ownership of the “means of production,” constitute a tyranny almost as brutal as that of the robber barons. The Socialists denounce the modern army system, and declare that there should be no war between nations, but only between class and class; in fact their movement tries to disregard national lines just as much as possible. Whether their propaganda for abolishing the “capitalist system,” and virtually

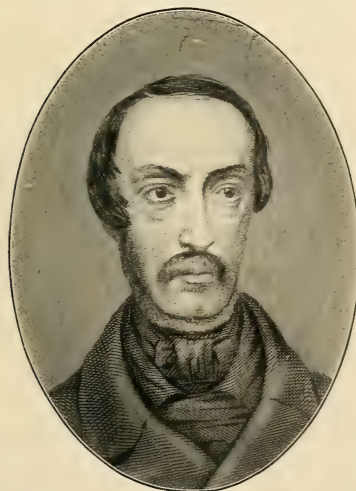




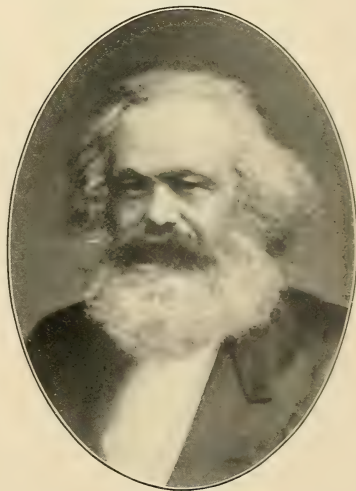
VOLTAIRE  
French author  
Born 1694      Died 1778



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU  
French author  
Born 1712      Died 1778



GIUSEPPE MAZZINI  
Italian patriot and revolutionist  
Born 1805      Died 1872



KARL MARX  
German socialist  
Born 1818      Died 1883

PROPHETS OF DEMOCRACY







obliterating national boundaries will succeed, is one of the questions to be answered by the twentieth century.

**328. *A summary and retrospect.*** We have come to the end of a very long story. We have seen how in the fourth Christian century the civilized world lay under the power of the Roman Empire, a magnificent despotism, but with the canker of decay at its heart. After the Roman Empire came the seemingly ruinous period of the Germanic invasions, when civilization would almost have perished save for the humanizing influence of the Christian Church. Then follows the long pageant of the Frankish Kingdom, the Holy Roman Empire, the mediæval Papacy, and especially the feudal system, with its glitter and misery, its brave deeds and anarchy, its heroic crusades and their ultimate failure. After the crusades comes the Renaissance and the rise of modern national kingdoms, with firm governments and intelligent laws, and (in England) institutions which promise not merely law and order, but genuine human liberty. A great upheaval — the Protestant Revolution — cleaves the old Church asunder, and a daring attempt is made by Louis XIV to subject all Europe to France. Finally, in 1789, the relics of mediævalism and feudalism are destroyed in France (and soon after in Germany) by the great social and political cataclysm which we call the French Revolution. Since the passing of the arch-destroyer Napoleon, Europe has further emancipated itself from the past and has reached confidently toward the future. England has moved closer to democracy; France has found an orderly free government; Germany has become again a great and enlightened empire; Italy also forms a single powerful people; Turkey has almost been expelled from Europe; even the dense, ignorant mass of Russia is stirring with the spirit of a new age.

The long, slow battle, waged since the days of the Roman Empire, for a reign of law along with a reign of political liberty, has been substantially won. The next revolution probably will turn upon factors not strictly political but economic. In any



case the future is full of hope. The lessons and sacrifices of the past ages have not been in vain. There are many grievous abuses and wrongs in the world to-day, but they are on the defensive, and year by year they become weaker. Every year sees a closer approach to the reign among nations, as well as among individuals, of intelligence, kindness, justice, and righteousness.

The great English poet Tennyson has expressed what should be the decision of every thoughtful and candid student of modern history:—

“ [Yet], I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.”

### REVIEW

1. *Topics*:— “Legitimacy”; Industrial Revolution; Karl Marx; Socialism.
2. Make and learn a list of the factors in the growth of democracy, grouping them under the heads of *political*, *social*, and *economic* factors.
3. Make a list of the more important European nations, arranging them in the order of their *democracy*; i.e., the extent to which the voice of the people controls the national government. Indicate in each case the form of government — *monarchy* (absolute or limited) or *republic*.
4. Which nations in the above list are most “progressive”?

### EXERCISES

1. Which of the European nations has exerted the greatest *political* influence upon the others?
2. Which nations have contributed most to the progress of civilization?
3. What has been the influence of commerce upon international politics and the spread of civilization?
4. Socialism in Europe. Distinguish between Socialism and Radicalism.
5. Are the life, the liberty, and the property of individuals better secured by the European Governments at present than they were in the days of the Roman Empire?
6. Compare the art, science, and literature of the present age with the same features of the Renaissance period.

### READINGS

*Sources.* Robinson; nos. 493–504.

*Modern accounts.* Seignobos: pp. 377–451. Gibbins: pp. 200–10, 226–28.

Robinson and Beard: II, pp. 318–422. Current literature.



## APPENDIX

### I. A LIST OF DATES OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A.D.

- 378 Battle of Adrianople.** Made possible the "Germanization" of the Roman Empire.
- 451 Battle of Châlons.** Saved western Europe from the Huns.
- 622 The Hegira (or Flight) of Mohammed.** Marks the beginning of his power.
- 732 Battle of Tours.** Western Europe saved from the control of the Mohammedans.
- 800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor at Rome.** Resulted in unnatural political conditions which dominated the Middle Ages.
- 1066 Battle of Hastings.** The Norman Conquest, which made possible the development of the English nation.
- 1095 Council of Clermont.** The beginning of the crusades.
- 1215 Magna Charta.** Defines the rights of Englishmen, serves as a standard of government for later reigns, and gives inspiration to other peoples in their struggles for political liberty.
- 1295 Model Parliament.** Beginning of elected representative government in England.
- 1415 Council of Constance.** The end of the Great Schism; Rome restored to the headship of a reunited Church.
- 1453 Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.** Thus the "Eastern Question" arises, and a great impulse is given to the movement of discovery.
- 1456 The first book, a Latin Bible, printed by Gutenberg at Mainz.** The beginning of an art, which made possible modern civilization.
- 1492 Columbus discovers America.**
- 1517 Martin Luther nails his thesis on the door of the church at Wittenberg.** The first immediate step in the Protestant Revolution.
- 1534 The separation of England from the control of Rome is completed.** Marks the first great step in making England a Protestant nation.
- 1555 Peace of Augsburg.** End of first period of the Reformation.



- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada.** Gave to England the control of the sea, and made possible the English colonization of the United States.
- 1648 Peace of Westphalia.** Marks the end of the religious wars; France becomes the leading power in Europe.
- 1688 The "Glorious Revolution" in England.** Completed the work of Cromwell; established the fact that Parliament, not the king, is the supreme power in England; made possible the development of a political system (Cabinet, or Ministry responsible to Parliament) which has been a model for other nations.
- 1704 Battle of Blenheim.** By which was defeated the attempt of Louis XIV to make France supreme in Europe.
- 1709 Battle of Poltava.** Marked the overthrow of Sweden as a great power, and the rise of a great Slav nation, Russia, to a leading place among European States.
- 1763 Peace of Paris.** Gave to England a colonial empire at the expense of France; prepared the way for the American Revolution.
- 1789 Meeting of the States General in France.** The first immediate step toward the French Revolution.
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo.** Defeated the attempt of Napoleon to make himself supreme in Europe. Congress of Vienna. Europe assumes its nineteenth century aspect.
- 1832 Great Reform of the British Parliament.** Made possible the coming of Democracy in Great Britain.
- 1861 Meeting of the First Parliament of United Italy.**
- 1871 (a) King of Prussia crowned German Emperor at Versailles.** The completion of German unity.
- (b) Rome made capital of the Kingdom of Italy.** The completion of Italian unity.

## II. A LIST OF THE BOOKS FROM WHICH ASSIGNMENTS FOR "READING" ARE DRAWN

The books marked with a star are very helpful in the work planned under the topic "Exercises," but they are not essential in securing satisfactory results, and may be omitted from the library if it is not possible to purchase *all* the books.

### Sources

F. A. OGG, *A Source Book of Mediæval History*. American Book Co.

J. H. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*. 2 vols. Ginn & Co.

The *Source Book* is more useful than the *Readings* for the period it covers (to the first part of the fifteenth century), because, though it has fewer selections from the sources, there are complete explanatory footnotes, and excellent introductory notes, very comprehensive and illu-



minating. If necessary to economize, the *Source Book* and the second volume of the *Readings* would cover the ground.

### *Modern Accounts*

E. EMERTON, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (to 814). Ginn & Co.

\**Mediæval Europe* (814-1300). Ginn & Co.

The *Introduction* is too well known to need comment, except to say that it remains unequaled and indispensable.

The *Mediæval Europe* is excellent for its analysis of events, but is too far advanced, on the whole, for secondary-school pupils. Parts of it are, however, necessary for reference.

C. SEIGNOBOS, *A History of Mediæval and Modern Civilization* (to the end of the seventeenth century). Charles Scribner's Sons.  
*A History of Contemporary Civilization*. Charles Scribner's Sons.

\**The Feudal Régime*. Henry Holt & Co.

The two volumes of the *History of Civilization*, although occasionally inaccurate, particularly with regard to English and American institutions, are intensely interesting and inspiring.

The *Feudal Régime*, while too technical for continued reading, is very valuable for reference.

BÉMONT and MONOD, *Mediæval Europe* (395-1270). Henry Holt & Co.

Very concise and clear, with the emphasis laid upon the development of France. For that reason an excellent book for English-speaking peoples.

V. DURUY, *History of France* (to 1889). Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

C. T. LEWIS, *History of Germany* (to 1872). American Book Co.

R. LODGE, *History of Modern Europe* (1453-1878). American Book Co.

For the modern period, the best *one-volume* accounts at moderate prices. Reliable, and sufficiently complete for all purposes of reference.

\*ARCHER and KINGSFORD, *The Crusades*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The most convenient account of the crusades at a moderate price. Interestingly written.

\*J. A. SYMONDS, *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*. Henry Holt & Co.

The best brief account of the Italian Renaissance, although too condensed to be greatly interesting. Very valuable for reference. Abridgment of the work mentioned on p. vi.

H. DE B. GIBBINS, *The History of Commerce in Europe*. The Macmillan Co.

An excellent account of the development of European commerce, well-written and clear. An adequate use of this book will show clearly the influence of economic facts upon political conditions.

A good history of England: — C. RANSOME's *Advanced History of England* is suggested. Almost equally good is Gardiner's (see p. ix.)



R. P. DUNN PATTISON, *Leading Figures in European History*. The Macmillan Co.

A collection of penetrating studies of the deeds and characters of the greatest leaders in European History, from Charlemagne to Bismarck. The concluding paragraphs of each study, in which the character of the individual is analyzed, and his influence upon history estimated, are unexcelled for fairness and keenness of insight.

J. H. ROBINSON and C. A. BEARD. *The Development of Modern Europe*. 2 vols. Ginn and Co. Illuminating account of events since 1661 A.D. Very strong in nineteenth-century economic and social movements.

### III. SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY

The books here named ought to be in almost any good public library. They will be found useful by those students of this history who wish to read beyond the works mentioned at the end of each chapter. Of course this list is merely a *beginning* to possible suggestions.

#### *Works of reference*

*Historical Atlases*: The best atlas for most students of European History is by W. R. SHEPHERD, *Historical Atlas* (Henry Holt & Co.). No other atlas published in English equals it for clearness, general usefulness, and accuracy: although for a very cheap work the *Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe*, in the excellent "Everyman's Library" (E. P. Dutton & Co.) is of remarkable value, and within the means of every student.

*The Encyclopædia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition) contains historical articles which are of the highest value, and the student should refer to them frequently. The historical volumes of the *Home University Library Series* (Henry Holt & Co.) are excellent. PLOETZ'S *Epitome of Universal History* (Houghton Mifflin Co.) is a convenient reference book, crammed with facts. LARNED'S *Encyclopædia of History for Ready Reference* is a very useful compilation. *The University of Pennsylvania Series of Historical Translations and Reprints* give many convenient and valuable studies especially of mediæval economic, social, and religious life.

#### *Histories of France*

G. W. KITCHIN, *History of France*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Goes only to 1792. A useful, straightforward work: interestingly written.

GUIZOT, F. P. G., *History of France*. 8 vols. Several American editions. Stops at 1848. By a distinguished statesman and historian "for his grandchildren": delightful reading, but too diffuse for reference and topical work.

DURUY, VICTOR, *History of France*. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Not faultless, but probably the best single-volume history of France. Full of information. See also Appendix II.



- GRANT, A. J., *The French Monarchy*. 2 vols. Cambridge Press. A well-written, scholarly, and preëminently useful treatment of the important period of French History from 1483 to 1789 A.D.
- ADAMS, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation*. The Macmillan Co. A clear summary, but somewhat brief, considering the long period covered.
- FROISSART'S *Chronicles* ("Everyman's Library"). An inimitable and immortal contemporary narrative of the first part of the Hundred Years' War.
- PERKINS, J. B., *France under Richelieu and Mazarin*. 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- PERKINS, J. B., *France under the Regency*. Houghton Mifflin Co. Gives a good preliminary sketch of the period under Louis XIV.
- PERKINS, J. B., *France under Louis XV*. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Co. Taken together these volumes by Perkins form an entertaining and highly valuable history of France during a most important period.
- LOWELL, E. J., *The Eve of the French Revolution*. Houghton Mifflin Co. Excellent account of the causes of the greatest political and social movement in modern history. (TAINE'S *Old Régime* is stimulating, but not infallible.)
- MATHEWS, SHAILER, *The French Revolution*. Longmans, Green & Co. The best short account. Reliable and interesting.
- GARDINER, B. M., *The French Revolution*. Longmans, Green & Co. A small volume in the well-known "Epochs of History" series. Almost as good as that of Mathews.
- ROSE, J. H., *Life of Napoleon*. 2 vols. The Macmillan Co. Probably the best standard life of Napoleon, though written somewhat from a pro-British standpoint.
- SLOANE, WILLIAM M., *Life of Napoleon*. 4 vols. The Century Co. An excellent work. Shares the field with Rose. The fine *illustrated* edition is to be preferred.
- YOUNG, ARTHUR, *Travels in France*. The Macmillan Co. A highly informing account of the travels of an Englishman in France just before the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789.
- [N.B. A convenient and scholarly history of nineteenth-century France — apart from the rest of Europe — is not available in English.]

### *Histories of Germany*

- HENDERSON, E. F., *A Short History of Germany*. 2 vols. The Macmillan Co. Readable, accurate. Probably best.
- MENZEL, *History of Germany*. 3 vols. "Bohn Library." Goes only to 1848. An old but fairly reliable work. Gives many picturesque details not in Henderson's *History*.
- BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire*. The Macmillan Co. A famous essay on the mediæval German Empire.
- JACOBS, H. E., *Life of Martin Luther*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.



SMITH, P., *Life of Martin Luther*. Houghton Mifflin Co.

Both of these give interesting and accurate biographies of the famous Reformer, from a Protestant standpoint.

FLETCHER, C. R. L., *Gustavus Adolphus*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. An excellent biography of the hero of the Thirty Years' War.

GARDINER, S. R., *The Thirty Years' War*. Charles Scribner's Sons. An enlightening sketch by a master historian.

LONGMAN, F. W., *Frederick the Great and The Seven Years' War*. Longmans, Green & Co. About the most satisfactory brief study of the maker of Prussian greatness.

HEADLAM, J. W., *Bismarck and the Founding of the German Empire*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Bismarck literature is voluminous. This is possibly the most useful of several good biographies. That by MUNROE SMITH is almost equally available.

#### *Other Continental Countries*

MOTLEY, J. L., *The Revolt of the Netherlands* (3 vols.), and *The Dutch Republic* (4 vols.). Harpers', and other editions. Among the most brilliant historical works in the English language. The story of the contest of William the Silent with Philip II is told with dramatic skill. Motley was a careful historian, but his admiration for William sometimes makes him unfair to his hero's enemies.

SYMONDS, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy*. 7 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. Interestingly though diffusely written books on the artists, poets, churchmen, and princes of Italy during the age of the Classical Revival. Very useful for all topics on the "civilization" side.

ORSI, P., *Story of Modern Italy*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. A good short account of the making of the Italian kingdom.

THAYER, W. R., *Life and Times of Cavour*. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Co. A masterly and authoritative study of a great man. Interesting and valuable.

RAMBAUD, A., *History of Russia*. 2 vols. Burt. The best account in English.

LANE-POOLE, S., *Story of Turkey*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

LANE-POOLE, S., *Story of the Moors in Spain*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Good narratives of the worst and the best, respectively, of the great Mohammedan empires.

#### *Special Studies in the Middle Ages and the Mediæval Church.*

OMAN, C. W. C., *The Dark Ages, 476-918 A.D.* The Macmillan Co.

TOUT, T. F., *The Empire and the Papacy, 918-1273 A.D.* The Macmillan Co.

LODGE, R., *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273-1494 A.D.* The Macmillan Co.

Well written manuals in the "Periods of European History" series.



More full of facts than of interpretation. Treat of all the important countries in Europe except England.

COX, G. W., *The Crusades*. Longmans, Green & Co.

ARCHER and KINGSFORD, *The Story of the Crusades*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The first is a convenient short account of the crusades: the second the best single account in English. See Appendix III, p. iii.

MILMAN, H. H., *History of Latin Christianity*. 8 vols. (often bound in 4).

Armstrong. A long and standard history by a careful, moderate English churchman. Few other works discuss the mediæval Papacy and Empire with equal clearness. Deals also with the intellectual life of the Middle Ages, and many political events. Useful for reference, and for preparing reports and topics. Stops at 1453 A.D.

BARRY, W., *The Papal Monarchy*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. An interestingly written work on the mediæval Popes by a distinguished Catholic writer.

SEDGWICK, H. D., *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Co. Interesting study of the art, literature, and life in the Church of one of the most important periods of mediæval history. Useful for reports and topics.

THAYER, W. R., *A Short History of Venice*. The Macmillan Co. Best brief study of the great maritime Republic.

GILMAN, ARTHUR, *Story of the Saracens*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. A clear account of Mohammed and the conquests and empire of his followers.

HODGKIN, TH., *Charles the Great*. The Macmillan Co. A short but illuminating biography of the greatest figure in the Middle Ages.

ADAMS, GEORGE B., *Civilization in the Middle Ages*. Charles Scribner's Sons. Not a history, but rather a stimulating commentary on many phases of mediæval life.

MUNRO and SELLERY, *Mediæval Civilization*. The Century Co. Judicious extracts in translation from recent French and German authors, dealing with important phases of mediæval history.

MUNRO, C. D., *History of the Middle Ages*. D. Appleton & Co. A brief sketch of the period 800-1300 A.D. Especially useful for the social life.

GIBBON, EDWARD, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 5 to 7 vols. Many editions. A great standard work: in the present case especially useful for the chapters on the fall of the Western Empire, Justinian, Mohammed, the Caliphate, and the Crusades. The edition edited by Bury (7 vols., The Macmillan Co.) is by far preferable.

### *Special Studies of Modern Epochs*

SEEBOHM, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*. Longmans, Green & Co. A brief but clear and enlightening study of the Reformation era, with especial stress upon its economic aspects.



- LINDSEY, T. M., *History of the Reformation*. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. Very readable. Perhaps the best study from a strictly Protestant standpoint. Well arranged for reference work.
- JOHNSON, A. H., *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*. (1494-1598 A.D.) The Macmillan Co.
- WAKEMAN, H. O., *The Ascendency of France*. (1598-1715 A.D.) The Macmillan Co.
- HASSALL, A., *The Balance of Power*. (1715-1789 A.D.) The Macmillan Co.
- STEPHENS, H. M., *Revolutionary Europe*. (1789-1815 A.D.) The Macmillan Co.
- PHILLIPS, W. A., *Modern Europe*. (1815-1900 A.D.) The Macmillan Co.
- Volumes in the "Periods of European History" series. Accurate and full of facts. Wakeman and Phillips are really interesting reading; the others are more solid than brilliant. None of them treat on England.
- HAZEN, C. D., *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. Henry Holt & Co. Very useful for advanced students.
- ROSE, J. H., *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*. (1789-1815). Cambridge Press. Good brief account of a most important epoch. More interestingly written than the similar volume by STEPHENS in the "Periods of European History" series.
- SEIGNOBOS, CH., *Political History of Europe since 1814*. Henry Holt & Co. A clear, impartial statement by a great French scholar of the forces which dominated Europe from 1814 to 1899. Deals with events rather than persons. Gives a vast quantity of details. Good statement of social, economic, and ecclesiastical movements. Useful for reports and topics.
- FYFFE, C. A., *History of Modern Europe*. 3 vols.; also a one-volume edition. Henry Holt & Co. Especially strong on the diplomatic history. Covers the period from 1792 to 1877. Nothing on England.
- ANDREWS, C. M., *Historical Development of Modern Europe*. 2 vols. bound in one. G. P. Putnam's Sons. A clear and accurate account of the nineteenth century by a well-known American scholar. Omits England.
- ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings in Modern European History*. 2 vols. Ginn & Co. Skillful collection of source material (1650-1908).
- GOOCH, G. P., *History of Our Own Time* (1885-1911). Henry Holt & Co. About the only available small book on very recent events.

### *Histories of England*

- GARDINER, S. R., *Students' History of England*. 3 vols., or bound in one. Longmans, Green & Co. An excellent, well-balanced account, in a moderate space, but not so full for the nineteenth century as RANSOME's similar *History*.
- BRIGHT, J. F., *History of England*. 5 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. Very



full of facts, but with little interpretation. Better for reference than for steady reading.

GREEN, J. R., *Short History of the English People*. 1 vol. (Also a similar longer history in 4 vols.) Harper & Bros. A work of great literary charm, and "easy to read but hard to remember." Of more value as a commentary on English history after the facts have been mastered than as a regular history.

KNIGHT, CHARLES, *History of England*. 8 vols. Several editions. A rather old work, but readable and very useful to immature students. Gives a great body of enlightening facts and anecdotes. The author was not a great historian, but he was a careful and skillful compiler. Useful for reference.

TRAILL, H. D., *Social England*. 6 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons. A coöperative work. A mine of information about the social life of England in every age. Useful for reference. The illustrated edition is of extra value.

BATESON, M., *Mediæval England*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Admirable small book on the life of the Middle Ages in England.

CREIGHTON, M., *The Age of Elizabeth*. Longmans, Green & Co.

STUBBS, W., *The Early Plantagenets*. Longmans, Green & Co.

GAIRDNER, J., *The Houses of Lancaster and York*. Longmans, Green & Co.

MOBERLY, C. E., *The Early Tudors*. Longmans, Green & Co.

GARDINER, S. R., *The Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*. Longmans, Green & Co.

HALE, E., *The Fall of the Stuarts*. Longmans, Green & Co.

MORRIS, E. E., *The Age of Anne*. Longmans, Green & Co.

MORRIS, E. E., *The Early Hanoverians*. Longmans, Green & Co.

MCCARTHY, J., *The Epoch of Reform*. Longmans, Green & Co.

These are all useful volumes in the "Epochs of History" series. Well adapted for inexperienced students. The Creighton, Stubbs, Gardiner, and Hale volumes are especially good.

FREEMAN, E. A., *William the Conqueror*. The Macmillan Co.

BEESLY, E. S., *Elizabeth*. The Macmillan Co.

HARRISON, FREDERICK, *Oliver Cromwell*. The Macmillan Co.

MORLEY, J., *Walpole*. The Macmillan Co.

MORLEY, J., *Chatham*. The Macmillan Co.

LORD ROSEBERY, *Pitt*. The Macmillan Co.

These are among the more useful biographies in the excellent "Twelve English Statesmen" series.

MORLEY, J., *Life of Gladstone*. 3 vols. The Macmillan Co. A noble biography of the greatest of the Victorian statesmen. A mine of information.

MACAULAY, T. B., *History of England*. 5 or more volumes; many editions. Covers only the years 1683 to 1702, but gives a picture of the "English Revolution" which is unsurpassed. Despite much recent criticism



Macaulay stands high as a historian. Only Motley's *Dutch Republic* competes with it for dramatic interest. The chapters on English life in the seventeenth century are especially good. More useful for rapid reading than for reference.

MCCARTHY, J., *History of Our Own Times*. 2 vols. Wessels. The work of a clever journalist rather than of a historian, but it is probably for most readers the best available account for the outward events of the reign of Victoria.

WHITE, A. B., *The Making of the English Constitution*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. A scholarly and up-to-date statement of the main points of English constitutional history up to 1485. The subject is naturally one only for fairly mature students. For more extended discussions one would go to the great works of TASWELL-LANGMEAD and STUBBS (3 vols.). Another good book for beginners is CREASY'S *Rise and Progress of the English Constitution*. D. Appleton & Co.

For advanced students the large coöperative histories of England edited by *Hunt and Poole* (12 vols. Longmans, Green & Co.) and *Oman* (6 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons) have very high value.]

### *Histories of Commerce*

WEBSTER, W. C., *A General History of Commerce*. Ginn & Co. Covers the whole field from antiquity to the present time. Well told and clear. Includes many points on the "Industrial Revolution," "Factory System," etc., not strictly under the head of "Commerce." Very useful for topics.

WARNER, G. T., *Landmarks in English Industrial History*. The Macmillan Co.

CHEYNEY, E. P., *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*. The Macmillan Co.

CUNNINGHAM and MCARTHUR, *Outlines of English Industrial History*. Cambridge Press.

All of these are good and useful books of somewhat similar scope. WARNER'S is perhaps the most useful for inexperienced classes. Few detailed treatments exist in the English language of the commercial and economic histories of the Continental countries. Many topics can be studied by a use of PALGRAVE'S *Dictionary of Political Economy*. 3 vols. The Macmillan Co.

GIBBINS, H. DE B., *Industrial History of England*. Charles Scribner's Sons.

GIBBINS, H. DE B., *History of Commerce in Europe*. The Macmillan Co. Useful and accurate small books. [See Appendix II.]



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